L. H.

THE HISTORY OF TURNER'S
LIBER STUDIORUM

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THE HISTORY OF TURNER'S
LIBER STUDIORUM
WITH A NEW CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

BY

ALEXANDER J. FINBERG

AUTHOR OF "A COMPLETE INVENTORY OF THE DRAWINGS OF THE TURNER BEQUEST," "TURNER'S SKETCHES & DRAWINGS," ETC.

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A. J. Finberg

TO

ARTHUR ACLAND ALLEN

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

IN AFFECTIONATE RECOGNITION OF HIS UNTIRING ZEAL

FOR THE HONOUR OF TURNER'S *LIBER STUDIORUM*

AND AS A MARK OF GRATITUDE FOR

HIS CONTINUAL KINDNESS

TO THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

IN this volume I have attempted to do two things: to write the History of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM, and to produce a new Catalogue raisonné of all the published and unpublished plates. Both were needed, but of the two perhaps the History was more urgently required than the Catalogue.

To appreciate the full significance of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM we must know something of the circumstances and motives which led him to begin the work, to persevere with it for seventeen years, and then to abandon it when it was within sight of completion; we must know what he was aiming at, and we must consider this particular work in relation to his other works. These topics have been touched upon lightly, and sometimes gracefully, by many writers in Prefaces and Introductions, but no serious attempt has yet been made to deal fully with them. Above all, the practically unpublished evidence of Turner's note-books and sketch-books has not yet been used. I have used this evidence freely, and the History which I have written constitutes, I believe, the first documented account of this interesting and important episode in Turner's early life.

The nineteenth century had its own way of dealing with the objects of its admiration, and it seems to me that the Victorian admirers of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM have succeeded, with the best intentions, in exalting it into something almost superhuman, but wholly irrational and incomprehensible. I have tried to bring the work out of the clouds in which the romantic imagination of the nineteenth century loved to disport itself, and to show that the undertaking was distinctly human, rational, and intelligible. I do not think that Turner's work loses either in beauty or in interest by being looked at in a clearer light.

Though not so urgently demanded as the History, a new Catalogue was certainly needed. The second, and last, edition of Mr. W. G. Rawlinson's admirable catalogue was published as long ago as 1906, and in the intervening eighteen years many new states have been discovered and much fresh information has come to light.

The numerical arrangement of the plates was first determined by the catalogue of the exhibition held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1872; this arrangement was adopted by Mr. Rawlinson, and I have retained it, as it would have entailed inconvenience to alter it, and the reasons for doing so are not important. But there is one detail in which I have not followed Mr. Rawlinson. I have confined my Catalogue to the list of published and unpublished plates. I consider it a mistake to include any unengraved drawings in the catalogue of a series of engravings. But as I have discussed this point in the text I need only allude to it here.

The principle I laid down for my own guidance in making this Catalogue was to take nothing for granted; to verify for myself all the information given in

the earlier catalogues. When I have found statements which for various reasons I have been unable to verify, I have said so. But my inability to verify some of Mr. Rawlinson's statements must not be taken to imply that the evidence upon which they were based does not exist. It is only too probable that some of the missing evidence will be forthcoming when it is too late for the purposes of this catalogue. But the principle which guided me was I believe sound, and I trust that its application has not led to what may even appear to be a rather ungracious scepticism towards a work for which I have the highest respect.

The chief grounds of difference between Mr. Rawlinson and myself are connected with the latest states of many of the plates. Where he describes these as " re-worked " or " entirely re-worked " I am inclined to think that the differences to which he refers are due simply to the wear of the plates and to differences in the printing, such as the use of stronger inks, greater pressure on the machine, and the employment of more absorbent paper. Such differences do not constitute a difference of state. I have therefore considered it advisable to be cautious before adopting Mr. Rawlinson's descriptions of some of his latest states.

The making of a catalogue would be a comparatively simple matter if only one could have access to all the data. But no complete collection of the LIBER STUDIORUM is in existence; *i.e.*, a collection including all the different states of each plate. Most collectors are satisfied with one example of each plate. I know of only three collections in this country which aim beyond this, those in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and that of Mr. A. A. Allen. But even if these three collections were combined the gaps would still be considerable. I have of course made the fullest use of these collections, as of most of the public collections in this country, and I have had access to many private collections.

My work has been lightened by the kindness and ready help of a large number of collectors and students of Turner's work, to whom I take this opportunity of offering my most grateful thanks. To Mr. A. A. Allen my indebtedness is almost painfully excessive. His generous help began with the loan of all the Etchings, First States, and many Engraver's Proofs from his collection for reproduction in this volume, and by placing unreservedly at my service the mass of information about the Engraver's Proofs which he had been patiently accumulating for many years; he gave me the run of his magnificent and unrivalled collection, and was even good enough to read the proof sheets of my Catalogue. My debt of gratitude to Mr. Henry P. Rossiter, the Acting Curator of Prints in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A., is also considerable. With unfailing cheerfulness and the most exemplary thoroughness Mr. Rossiter answered the steady flow of questions about impressions in the Bullard Bequest with which, for more than six months, I assailed him. The information he was good enough to furnish me with has enabled me to supplement, and in some cases correct, the descriptions and classifications given in the admirable privately printed catalogue of the Bullard Collection which was issued by Mr. Grenville Lindall Winthrop in

1916. Mr. Henry Stewart Brown has given me most valuable help with regard to the lettering of the plates and in many other ways, while three collectors, Major F. H. Fawkes, Mr. Horace A. Mummery, and Mr. A. E. Wilson-Browne, were generous enough to lend me their collections for several months, so that I could study them at leisure in my own home. Mr. Mummery, whose knowledge of Turner's engraved work is probably unrivalled, has given me much valuable information, and Mr. William Ward, Lt.-Col. R. H. Brocklebank, Mr. Victor Rienaecker, and Mr. J. Hutchinson have helped me in the same way. On technical questions I have often had the advantage of consultation with Sir Frank Short, R.A., Mr. F. L. Griggs, A.R.A., and Mr. W. P. Robins, R.E. It is a pleasure to recall the kindness and hospitality of the Rev. Wm. MacGregor, Mrs. J. E. T. Allen, Mr. Geoffrey Allen, Mr. Stopford W. Brooke, Miss E. Stopford Brooke, Major S. L. Courtauld, and Mrs. Stanley Barnes, and to acknowledge the courtesy and helpfulness of the Keeper of the Department of Prints, British Museum, the Keeper of Engravings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dr. Guppy, the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Mr. George T. Shaw, the Chief Librarian of the Liverpool Free Public Libraries, Mr. Charles Robertson, the officer in charge of the Hornby Library, and of their able assistants.

A.J.F.

March 1924.

NOTE

SINCE the main part of this volume was printed, an additional state of No. 4, SCENE ON THE FRENCH COAST, has been brought to my notice. It is characterized by a dot placed just below the centre of the initial letter M, and shows re-work on the hull and the reflections of the foreground smack on the right. It constitutes a FOURTH STATE.

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THE HISTORY OF TURNER'S
LIBER STUDIORUM

THE HISTORY OF TURNER'S "LIBER STUDIORUM"

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

BEFORE Turner began his LIBER STUDIORUM there had been, so far as I am aware, no series of landscape engravings with an aim exactly similar to that of his publication. Other artists had had their pictures or drawings engraved, sometimes in their own lifetime, but the engraving was generally in the nature of an afterthought: the engravers merely used in their own ways what had been produced for other purposes. Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM was not intended to reproduce anything that was already in existence. It was from the first conceived in terms of engraving, and the single aim of the work was to produce a series of original engravings in which his own powers of invention and design should be adequately expressed.

Such an assertion may seem a little too sweeping when we remember that among the subjects engraved in this series were several water-colours and oil paintings which had been produced by Turner before his LIBER STUDIORUM had been thought of. But in all cases where water-colours or oil paintings were ostensibly reproduced, as in *Kirkstall*, *Jason*, the *Egremont Sea Piece*, etc., the engravings differ so largely from their nominal originals that they must be regarded as independent designs, which were conceived and worked out in terms of the special form of engraving adopted for this publication, rather than as reproductions of existing works of art. The plates of such subjects were not engraved from the pictures they were supposed to reproduce; they were engraved from pen and sepia drawings made specially by Turner for the purpose. These drawings always differed considerably from the pictures, and as the process of engraving proceeded the differences accumulated and became more pronounced.

This uniqueness, or at least peculiarity, of aim makes it difficult to explain in a few words the essential character of Turner's publication.

Perhaps the best way to begin is to start with the generally accepted description, and to show in what respects it is inaccurate and misleading. Nearly all writers on the subject tell us that Turner's aim in his LIBER STUDIORUM was to produce something similar to Earlom's set of engravings after Claude's "Liber Veritatis." This is not even a half-truth; and when taken as the whole truth it is positively misleading. Claude's drawings, in the first place, were not done to be engraved: they were merely slight memoranda intended for use in the verification and identification of his paintings. In the second place, the artist

exercised no control over the engravings. Claude being dead when Earlom began to engrave his drawings, the engraver was free to treat them as he chose. As a matter of fact he libelled Claude's originals outrageously. As the Comte de Laborde has said, " il est impossible de traduire d'une manière plus futile, plus insipide, plus monotone, en un mot plus banale, une collection de deux cents dessins qui sont des chefs-d'œuvres, par leur profondeur, leur sentiment, leur variété et leur distinction " (" Archives de l'Art Français," vol. i, quoted by Edward Dillon in his " Claude "—Methuen and Co.).

To Turner these two points were of the utmost importance. With his genius for the technical side of art he knew that a perfect design must be conceived as well as executed in its own particular medium. Even a perfect design in one medium cannot be transposed without alteration into another medium. And he knew very well, from observation and experience, that few if any engravers could be trusted to make all the necessary alterations and transpositions.

The aim of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM was therefore to produce a series of engravings as unlike Earlom's version of Claude's " Liber Veritatis " in these essentials as any two series of engravings could well be. The material of each plate was from the first deliberately designed to be engraved in a somewhat unusual mixture of etching and mezzotint; and Turner exercised the most complete control over the process of engraving, varying and adapting his original design as the engraver's skill and shortcomings, and as his good and bad luck in the working of the plate, required.

Had Turner intended to engrave his designs himself there would have been nothing peculiar in this moulding of the subject-matter by the medium. But when he began the undertaking it was his intention to engrave only the etched foundations of each plate himself, leaving the mezzotinting to be performed by professional engravers. Why Turner took up the mezzotint-rocker and -scraper we can only surmise. I think he probably began experimenting with them some time after the first parts had been published, with the object of enabling himself to direct and instruct his engravers with fuller knowledge of the medium than he had at first possessed. But six-sevenths of the published plates were engraved by other hands, and it is the kind of control which Turner exercised over the engraving of these plates which constitutes one of the most striking and unprecedented features of the undertaking.

The story of this control is writ large on the series of touched and annotated proofs, the majority of which are now assembled in the collections of the British Museum, Mr. A. A. Allen, and the Bullard Bequest to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, the remainder being scattered through a number of public and private collections. In these we see with what readiness of invention Turner could take advantage of accidental defects, and with what sedulous care and infinite skill he could enhance any unusually fortunate passage. To his engravers he must have seemed a harsh taskmaster. But while sympathizing

with their resentment against the insatiable demands made upon their time and skill, we must rejoice at the results which Turner got from them. The plates of LIBER STUDIORUM are engraved nearly as well as if Turner had done them himself. It is no exaggeration to say that these plates are immeasurably finer than any landscapes engraved even by the same engravers when working by their own unaided skill. For the time being Turner endowed them with something of his own incomparable delicacy and accuracy of sight. He lent them, as it were, his eyes, his knowledge, his skill, the fervour of his imagination, and he inspired them, often, it would seem, in spite of themselves, with something of the untiring passion for perfection which characterized his own work.

Merely as a series of engravings Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM deserves the reputation it has enjoyed for three-quarters of a century. Almost every other plate is a classic of the art of mezzotint-engraving. Nothing finer in that medium has yet been accomplished. But they are much more than this. They are not reproductions of something finer than themselves. Each plate is a fresh creation of Turner's genius; a new and original work, which stands by itself, and is its own glory and fulfilment.

In the brief history of this undertaking which I have endeavoured to write in the following pages, we shall see that Turner's chief ulterior aim in producing his LIBER STUDIORUM was to make his reputation as a designer of landscapes safe with posterity. He knew how quickly and with what unfortunate results oil paintings and water-colours change and decay. The works of the engraver last longer and wear better than those of the painter and draughtsman. Were all Turner's paintings and drawings destroyed, his LIBER STUDIORUM would suffice to establish his reputation as one of the great artists of Europe. And to make "assurance doubly sure" he has left, besides, that incomparable series of line-engravings which he may be said to have extorted from the engravers after the stoppage of his LIBER STUDIORUM. The world just now is not in the mood to appreciate these line-engravings at their proper worth, but the work is there when people shall have the eyes and mind to enjoy it.

In the meantime we may rejoice that the work which contains some of the freshest and most vigorous outpourings of Turner's genius, though it misses the radiant splendour of his later work, should have so many and such ardent admirers. LIBER STUDIORUM is the work of a young man. Artists sometimes like poets do their best work when they are young. It may be that Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM contains the pith of all that is best in his life and work.

to freedom in Turner's relations with the engravers. This plate was the first of a long series of engravings which have made Turner's name familiar to the English-speaking world. It was also the first in which he was intimately associated with the engraver. It forms, therefore, the connecting link between Turner's earlier topographical work and that free expression in the form of engraving which was inaugurated by his LIBER STUDIORUM. And as the importance of this plate has been strangely overlooked by previous writers on this subject, I propose to deal rather more fully with it than would otherwise have been necessary.

The engraver of this plate, Charles Turner, had been a fellow student with Turner in the antique and life classes of the Academy schools. While still a student he had published several mezzotints from paintings. From the list of plates he engraved between 1799 and 1805 it is evident that he did not rely entirely upon the merits of his own work, but that the reputation of the painters whose works he reproduced and the attractiveness of their subject-matter were carefully considered. Charles Turner would certainly have watched with interest the rapidly growing celebrity of his namesake and fellow pupil, and there can be no doubt that the painting of the *Shipwreck* contained the elements of an immediate popular success. We do not know for certain whether the engraver or the painter took the initiative in the proposal to produce this engraving, but from the fact that the engraver took all the risks of the undertaking and paid the artist for the loan of the picture while it was being engraved, I think we are justified in assuming that the initiative came from the engraver. The sum paid by the engraver to the painter for the loan of the picture was £26 5*s*., although the picture had ceased to be the property of the artist. But Turner had to induce the owner, Sir John Leicester, to allow the engraving to be made and consent to the non-delivery of the picture for a time. Traces of the trouble this application gave the artist are to be found in the drafts of a letter to Sir John Leicester on the back of a drawing now in the Turner Bequest (CXIX, Y). Among the words which can be deciphered are the following: " and I should be particularly careful that no detension of the Picture will occur—beyond the proposed time of your return to town for the winter—and beyond the time you have expressed a wish to have the picture delivered (viz. the winter)."

Sir John Leicester seems to have approved of the enterprise, and the following prospectus was issued:

Proposals for publishing by subscription, with permission of Sir John Leicester, Bart., a print from that celebrated picture of

A SHIPWRECK
WITH BOAT ENDEAVOURING TO SAVE THE CREW
BY J. M. W. TURNER, ESQ., R.A.

To be seen at his Gallery, N° 64 Harley Street, until July 1, 1805; and after at N° 50 Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. To be engraved in mezzotinto by C. Turner. Size of plate will be 33 inches by 23½ inches. Prints, £2 . 2s.; proofs £4 . 4s. Those in colours

to be under the direction of the artist. Half of the money to be paid on subscribing, and the other half on delivery, which will be in December next, 1805.

C. Turner has the pleasure to inform his friends, as it will be the first engraving ever presented to the public from any of Mr W. Turner's pictures, the print will be finished in a superior style; and, as only fifty proofs will be taken, gentlemen desirous of fine impressions are requested to be early in their application, as they will be delivered in order as subscribed for.

Subscriptions received by the engraver, N° 50 Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. (THORNBURY, p. 193.)

It will be seen, from Turner's draft letter to Sir John Leicester and the prospectus, that Charles Turner undertook to finish the engraving before Sir John's return to town for the winter, and to deliver the prints to subscribers in December 1805. He did not keep his promise. The plate was not done by December 1805. The date in the publication-line was then altered to July 1806 (an impression in the British Museum bears this date), but the plate was not finished by that date. A letter from the engraver to Sir John Leicester, which was shown to me by the late Lady Leighton-Warren, enclosing proofs of the plate, proves that the engraving was not finished till January 1807. This delay of over a year in the completion and publication of the *Shipwreck* plate probably throws some light on the subsequent delays in the publication of those LIBER plates which Charles Turner engraved. It has been customary to blame the artist for those delays, but it is evident that the engraver must have been alone responsible for the delay in the completion of this plate, as the picture he had to work from was entirely finished before he began his task. It seems to me, therefore, only too probable that the engraver was also responsible, to some extent, if not entirely, for the delays and irregularities in the appearance of the earlier numbers of LIBER STUDIORUM.

I do not know whether the artist had any pecuniary interest in the plate beyond the payment he received for the loan of the painting, but it is evident that he took pains to preserve the names of the subscribers to the engraving. This list of names is scribbled on the backs of the sketches in the *Shipwreck* (No. 1) note-book (LXXXVII, T.B.). As it is of interest to know the names of the individuals who formed the public which was ready to buy engravings from Turner's designs, I have decided to print this list in full. Most of the names and addresses are written in ink. Many of these names have been crossed through with a single line of pencil, probably as an indication that the impressions ordered had been delivered, or that the subscription had been paid; in the following list a cross has been placed against those names which have not been crossed out in the note-book.

Wells Family.
Sir Wm. Beechey.
Mr. Swinburne.
Henderson.
Fawkes.
Lowden.
Fitzhugh. x
Monro. x
Knight. Proof.
Holworthy, 19, Charlotte Place.
Champernowne.

Sir John Leicester. x
4. Spilsbury. Proofs.
Mr. Stuart Wortley, 61, Grosvenor P.
Lord Essex.
Col. Dillon.
Col. Fisher, Barrack, Woolwich. x
Liston Parker. x
Honble. Mr. Pelham. Proof.
Spiller.
Wells.
Barrett.
Hills.[1]
Pyne.
Nicholson.
J. Varley, Broad Street.
} 5 sent to Wells.
Green. x
Dobree.
Sir Hy. Englefield.
De la Motte. x
Mrs. Williams. 25.
Egremont.
Miss Parr. 2 copies.
Mr. G. Hibbert. 1 Proof.
Mr. G. Hibbert. 1 Print.
Mr. Miller. 25 copies.
Ed. Orme, Bond St.
Booker, do.
Holworthy, Junr. x
Elliott.
Barret. x
Seward, Verulam Build.
1 D. Lambert.
1 Bennett. C. Turner.
Grace of Argyle. Proof.
Mr. Cope of Leeds.
Mr. Havell.
Mr. Canmer, Junr.
M. Herberts, Cooks Court.
Mr. Mile, Oxford.
Mr. Leader.
Tomkinson.
Ld. Yarborough. x
Carr. x
Carlisle.
Soane.[1]
Lascelles.
Lady Lucas. Proof.
Stothard.
Laporte.
Mr. G. Holland at Mr. Eshin & Eshin, St. Michaels Hill, Bristol. Proof. x
Thos. Barber, Nottingham.
Mr. Sass.
Ed. V. Utterson, Esqr.
32, Gt. Coram, Bruns. Sq.
Mr. Glover.
Revd. J. Bustock, Cambridge.
Lady Powis, R. H.
Mr. T. Miller.
} Wells.
Miss P. Jackson = J. Jackson, Esq., Dowgate.
Miss Wells.
C. Varley, 9 Charlotte Place.
S. T. Stump, 4, Duncan P., Leicester Square.
Mr. Stamforth, Berkeley Square.
Sir T. Gage.
— Lewis, Esq. 2 Proofs. x
9 Devonshire Street.
Mr. G. Barrett, 20 Lisson Green. Print. x

(See FINBERG's *Inventory*, pp. 227, 228.)

These names seem to account for about 130 subscriptions, so the publication was probably successful. This demonstrated that there was a public ready to buy engravings from Turner's designs. In addition to the monetary value of good subjects for engraving, there were the advantages to be gained by the wider reputation which prints brought to the artist. Turner knew how much of Wilson's reputation was due to the engravings Woollett had executed after his pictures. The success of the *Shipwreck* plate proved that the time had come when Turner might look to the medium of engraving as an additional form of expression.

Fortunately Turner had at his side a friend who gave him no peace till he had embarked upon a project worthy of his powers. This friend was William Frederick Wells (1762-1836), a water-colour painter, at whose house Turner, it is said, usually spent three or four evenings a week (Thornbury, p. 234). Wells's daughter tells us that Turner regarded her father as "an able counsellor in difficulties." In a letter written by that lady a few years after Turner's death—she was then Mrs. Wheeler—she says,—"I remember over and over again hearing (my father) say—'For your own credit's sake Turner you ought to give

[1] Crossed through in ink.

a work to the public which will do you justice—if after your death any work injurious to your fame should be executed,[1] it then could be compared with the one you yourself gave to the public.' Turner placed implicit confidence in my Father's judgment, but he required much and long continued spurring before he could be urged to undertake LIBER STUDIORUM. At last, after he had been well goaded, one morning, half in a pet he said, 'Zounds, Gaffer, there will be no peace with you till I begin (he was then staying with us at Knockholt)—well, give me a sheet of paper there, rule the size for me, tell me what subject I shall take'—my father arranged the subjects, Pastoral, Architectural, etc., etc., as they now stand, and before he left us the first five subjects which form the first number were completed and arranged for publication greatly to my dear Father's delight. This was in the October of 1806. I sat by Turner laughing and playing whilst he made the drawings—for his visits to us at Knockholt were one scene of fun and merriment." (Quoted from a letter in the possession of Mr. W. G. Rawlinson, printed in his "Liber Studiorum," second edition, pp. xii and xiii.)

[1] This was evidently a reference to Earlom's engravings of Claude's "Liber Veritatis," which were not considered worthy of Claude's reputation. See the Comte de Laborde's criticism quoted above.

CHAPTER III

ITS SCOPE

WHEN discussing the general plan of the work the two friends would naturally turn over in their minds the precedents for such an undertaking which had come within their experience. Hearne's "Antiquities of Great Britain," published 1777-1781, and Paul Sandby's Welsh and Windsor sets of aquatints, published between 1775 and 1780, had been the classics upon which Turner's early topographical ambitions had been nourished. The process of aquatint which Sandby had introduced to the English public in these engravings offered several important advantages over that of line-engraving which had been adopted for Hearne's drawings; it was quicker, more painter-like, and it lent itself admirably to the reproduction of elaborate and daring effects of atmosphere and light. The process had also been successfully used in Thomas Girtin's "Views in Paris and its Environs," published in 1803.

But the scope of these works was too limited to draw out and display Turner's capacities. As their titles show they were intended to appeal primarily to antiquarian and topographical interests, while Turner had by this time definitely committed himself to the wider appeal of imaginative or poetic art. The work he and Wells were planning could not therefore be a series of views of any particular place or neighbourhood, or of any particular class of buildings or remains. The only possible thread of connexion between the proposed series of engravings must be the personality of the artist whose powers they were to display. Sandby's, Hearne's, and Girtin's "Views" had indeed displayed these artists' great powers to advantage, but Turner's range was wider than theirs; he had already distinguished himself as a marine painter, an historical and imaginative painter, and any scheme which did not admit of the exercise of such gifts would naturally make little appeal to his ardent and ambitious mind.

The only work which offered an analogy to the one they were contemplating was the publication by Boydell of Earlom's engravings of the collection of Claude's sketches in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. The sole connecting link between these designs was the genius of Claude. In these two hundred drawings the knowledge and skill and fine poetic imagination of the elder master were freely displayed. Unfortunately the engravings hardly did justice to the fine originals they were intended to reproduce. The success which Earlom's undertaking had commanded proved, as Wells pointed out, that the public were ready to take an interest in the free inventions of an imaginative artist merely as works of art, independent of the topographical and antiquarian interest which the other English artists had deemed it prudent to consult.

The aim of the new undertaking must therefore be to give as free a play as possible to the many sides of Turner's genius. It was decided to issue a hundred plates, to be published serially, and to draw attention to the range of

Turner's powers Wells suggested that the designs should be classified according to the various branches into which Turner's range of practice could be divided. The only way to describe such a work was to call it a book of designs, as we should say, or a book of studies for pictures, according to the technical expressions then in use among artists. Wells turned this title into modern Latin, and it was decided to give the name LIBER STUDIORUM to the undertaking.

We must bear in mind that since Turner's time the word "study" has assumed a different meaning, even among artists. It now means a detailed drawing or painting made directly from an object destined to form part of a design or picture; a figure painter makes detailed drawings of the hands, feet, drapery, etc., of his principal figures, or a landscape painter of the vegetation, etc.; these are now called "studies." This change of meaning is a sign of the change which took place in the nineteenth century in the artists' conception of what a picture should be. Pictures were no longer considered to require designing. Turner was one of the few nineteenth-century artists who paid serious attention to the spacing, lighting, and rhythmic arrangement of a picture. The absence of drawings of designs for pictures among artists of the nineteenth century, especially in this country, is remarkable and significant.

From the modern point of view, therefore, Hamerton was correct in saying that the plates of LIBER STUDIORUM are not, properly speaking, studies; the judgment is only defective because it reads late nineteenth-century ideas into an eighteenth-century expression; Turner invariably used the word "study" in the eighteenth-century sense.

It is easy to see that such a publication, after it had appeared, would naturally be regarded by engravers as a companion, and indeed as a rival, in its appeal to the print-buying public, to Earlom's version of Claude's "Liber Veritatis"; and this is the way Charles Turner, who engraved many of the plates in the LIBER STUDIORUM, and John Pye, the engraver, who was one of the earliest collectors of the plates, often spoke of the work. Nor is there any harm in speaking of these two publications as rivals; but to pass from this to the assertion that Turner was guilty of unworthy conduct in venturing to publish a collection of his own designs, and that such a publication constituted a base and cowardly attack on the reputation of Claude, as some recent critics have done, seems to me absurd and unjustifiable.

CHAPTER IV

PUBLICATION

WE have seen from Mrs. Wheeler's evidence that the drawings for the first five plates were made and arranged for publication in October 1806. It is difficult to say exactly what Mrs. Wheeler meant by the words "arranged for publication," but it certainly included the choice of an engraver, a decision as to the method and medium of engraving, and the assurance that the engraver who had been chosen was willing and able to undertake the work. Turner's and Mr. Wells's choice naturally fell upon Charles Turner, the engraver of the *Shipwreck* plate. Turner had resolved to etch each subject himself, and Charles Turner undertook to complete the work in mezzotint. No time could have been lost over preliminaries, for the first five plates (Nos. II to VI in our catalogue) which constituted the First Part of the publication were etched and mezzotinted and ready to be issued in the following June.

As the first five plates bear no date in the publication-line it was long a matter of dispute as to when Part I was issued. Fortunately the matter has now been cleared up, by the publication in "The Morning Post," on 10th January, 1923, of the following entry in Farington's Diary:

> June 13, 1807. Turner I called on at his Gallery, it being the last day of His Exhibition of his own works. I also saw the first number of His publication of prints etched and acqua-tinted, from His designs, which was published on Thursday last.

It is easy to pardon the prosaic old painter for many of his faults in gratitude for this precious scrap of information; for in spite of the fact that Farington mistook the mezzotints for aquatints, and that he was not sufficiently interested in the engravings to mention the name of the publication, I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the first number of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM is here referred to, and that the entry establishes the date of publication as 11th June, 1807—the 13th having been a Saturday.

The business of publishing seems to have been a very simple affair. No preliminary advertisement or notice of the publication appeared, so far as we know, in any of the newspapers. It is probable that the only thing done to attract the attention of the public was to display some of the drawings and possibly proofs of the engravings in Turner's gallery when it was opened for his annual exhibition in April 1807, together with a manuscript prospectus of the work. That this was the course adopted is confirmed by the following passage in a "Memoir of the Life of David Cox," by N. Neal Solly (Chapman and Hall, 1873), which has not yet been noticed by any previous writer on the subject:

> With respect to the LIBER STUDIORUM [to which Mr. Solly says Cox was one of the earliest subscribers] Cox related that Turner hung up a prospectus of that work in his rooms on first opening an exhibition of his works, also a frame containing the drawings in sepia for the first proposed numbers. [P. 27.]

The manuscript prospectus has not survived. According to an article in John Landseer's "Review of Publications in Art" a prospectus was worded:

> Proposals for the publishing one hundred Landscapes, to be designed and etched by J. M. W. Turner, R.A., and engraved in Mezzotinto. It is intended in this publication to attempt a classification of the various styles of landscape, viz., the historic, mountainous, pastoral, marine, and architectural.

But as the article containing this information was not published till June 1808, when a prospectus had been displayed for the second time, it is not quite certain that the prospectus displayed in 1807 was couched in these words; it is not, however, very likely that any change in the wording would have been made on the second occasion.

The five prints were stitched together within a coarse blue paper cover on which were printed the words: "No. — of LIBER STUDIORUM, Illustrative of Landscape Compositions, viz., Historical, Mountainous, Pastoral, Marine, and Architectural. Prints, 15s. Proofs, £1 5s." The number of the part was left to be inserted in manuscript. No distinction appears to have been made in the covers whether they contained proofs or prints, but as each cover bore Turner's initials, written either with red or black ink, it has been assumed that the red ink was used to denote proofs, and the black ink to denote prints.

Between June 1807 and the following April Turner must have been frequently absent from Harley Street. A second address—West End, Upper Mall, Hammersmith—is given in the Academy catalogue for 1808, and we know that he was at Portsmouth at the end of October 1807, when the Danish fleet was brought in. His absence from Harley Street must have interfered with the business of distributing copies of his publication to subscribers and supplying casual purchasers. After the issue of Part I it was therefore decided to hand the business of publication over to Charles Turner, the engraver.

It appears to have been Turner's intention to issue Part II some time before his gallery opened in 1808, and Part III before it closed. The plates in Part II (Nos. VII-XI in our catalogue) bear the date 20th February 1808 in their publication-lines. When this part reached the hands of subscribers it bore a printed slip stuck on the blue cover which contained the following announcement:

> J. M. W. Turner respectfully acquaints the Subscribers to the LIBER STUDIORUM, that his other Engagements having delayed the completion of the Second number, in future, the Publication and Management of the above work will be under Mr. C. Turner, 50 Warren Street, Fitzroy Square. [One of these slips is preserved in the Print Room, British Museum, among John Pye's documents.]

These words seem to suggest that there had been some kind of promise to issue Part II sooner than the date on which it appeared; or they may mean that the part was not ready on the date engraved on the plates. I regard the first suggestion as the more probable as the plates in Part III bear the date 10th June 1808,

which would give an interval of less than four months between the issue of Parts II and III, while the interval between I and II had been rather more than eight months, and Turner had probably at first intended to issue the parts at regular intervals.

That Turner was aware of the advisability of advertising his publication is proved by the existence of a rough draft in his handwriting which Mr. Mallord Turner exhibited at the Tate Gallery in October 1922. This draft, which must have been written before 18th April, and possibly before February 1808, runs as follows:

> Mr. C. Turner having the management of the Publication of LIBER STUDIORUM (after drawings by J. M. W. T——) respectfully informing the Subscribers to the above work, and the Public, that the second number containing 5 Plates is ready for Delivery at 50 Warren St. Fitz. Sq.—50 Drawings intended to be engraved may be seen on the 18th of April when Mr. J. M. W. Turner's Gallery in Harley St. will open for the Season.
>
> Proofs 1 : 5 : 0 } 5 Plates
> Prints — 15 : 0 } in each number.

In all probability the advertisement which Turner had in view when he was writing this draft never appeared. For in the long note to the engraver which Turner wrote on the margin of a lettered Engraver's Proof of the *Lake of Thun* he says: "Respecting advertizing you know full well that everything ought to have been done long ago!" This note, which is transcribed in full in the accompanying catalogue, under the record of the proof on which it appears (No. 15, E.P. (d)) must have been written towards the end of May 1808, as it contains a reference to the closing of Turner's rooms "in a fortnight." We have seen that Part I was published a day or two before the closing of Turner's gallery in 1807; he had evidently intended that Part III should be published just before the gallery closed for the season in 1808. The date engraved on the plates issued in Part III (Nos. XII-XVI) is 10th June 1808, which fell on Friday; I assume therefore that the gallery closed on 11th June. But the note on the *Lake of Thun* proof shows that the plates were not finished when the note was written, that the wrappers were not printed, and that Charles Turner had not even bought the paper for them. The engraver's dilatory habits had evidently thrown Turner into a bad humour, for the note concludes with the despairing words: "the plates not done—not advertized, in short everything has conspired against the work." The appearance of John Landseer's long article on the work in the June number of the "Review of Publications in Art" may have soothed the artist's ruffled feelings, but it is doubtful whether Part III was ready on the date engraved on the plates. The part was probably issued while Turner was at Tabley Hall, where he devoted a good deal of time to fishing, but where he painted, incidentally, the two fine pictures for Sir John Leicester which appeared in the Academy in the following year.

In spite of Turner's dissatisfaction with his engraver and publisher, or perhaps because there was no time to make other arrangements, the plates in Part IV (Nos. XVII-XXI) bore Charles Turner's name as publisher. This part was issued on 29th March 1809. But after this part Turner took back the business of publication into his own hands.

Before Part IV was issued Turner had begun to employ other engravers, though Charles Turner continued to engrave an occasional subject. By this time, too, Turner himself must have begun to try his hand as an engraver.

In 1810 no fresh part of LIBER STUDIORUM was published. Turner had added to his range of activities the rôle of architect, builder, and contractor for the house he was building at Twickenham. Whatever the causes of the delay there was an interval of nearly two years between the issue of Parts IV and V. Part V (Nos. XXII-XXVI) was published from his house in Queen Anne Street West, on 1st January 1811; Parts VI and VII (Nos. XXVII-XXXVI) in June of the same year, and the next three parts came out in 1812; Part VIII (Nos. XXXVII-XLI) in February, Part IX (Nos. XLII-XLVI) in April, on the 23rd, Turner's birthday, and Part X (Nos. XLVII-LI) on 23rd May. This part contained six plates, the *Frontispiece* (catalogued as No. 1) being included, and " most respectfully presented to the Subscribers."

In this way the first fifty-one plates were issued in the space of five years, thus completing what was regarded as the first volume of the work.

We have seen that the prices originally charged for each part were £1 5*s*. for Proofs, and 15*s*. for Prints, but Turner's note-books show that soon after the first number was issued he contemplated an increase of these prices. I have not, however, been able to find out exactly when this contemplated increase was actually made. We only know that when Parts XI and XII (containing Nos. LII-LXI) were published, four years after the completion of the first volume, the prices advertised were Proofs, £2 2*s*. each number, and Prints, £1 1*s*.

The advertisement from which this piece of information is derived was issued as a fly-sheet in one of the parts of the " Southern Coast," which was published in 1816. As it is the only full-dress advertisement of the publication which has yet been found, it is worth reprinting in full.

> Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM, published February 1, 1816. The eleventh and twelfth numbers of LIBER STUDIORUM, by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. In continuation of the second volume of this work, intended as an illustration of Landscape Composition, classed as follows: Historical, Mountainous, Pastoral, Marine, and Architectural. Each number contains five engravings in mezzotinto; one subject of each class: engraved by C. Turner, W. Say, T. Lupton, H. Daw, and T. Hogetts. The whole work will be comprised in twenty numbers, forming two volumes; ten numbers of which are published, containing fifty engravings, including some subjects from pictures painted by the author, in the possession of different noblemen and gentlemen.—Proofs, £2 2s. each number. Prints, £1 1s. do.—Subscriptions received at Mr. Turner's, Queen Anne Street, Harley Street.

The draft of this advertisement in Turner's handwriting is in Mr. A. A. Allen's possession. On the same sheet of paper the following covering letter also appears:

" Dear Sir,

I have written this very hastily fearing your Boy would come before I could well begin.—You may alter anything you like—but don't add anything like Puffing of the work or say that I have engraved any of the plates.

What I have dashed had better perhaps be printed in large letters.

Yours,

J. M. W. Turner."

This letter was probably addressed to W. B. Cooke, but no name is given. The advertisement as printed differs only slightly from Turner's draft, and nothing like " Puffing " was published.

But though it is evident from this announcement in the " Southern Coast " that Turner intended in 1816 to complete his work, only two more parts were issued. It was not, however, till January 1819 that Parts XIII and XIV (containing Nos. LXII-LXXI) were published. There is evidence to show that Turner had not definitely abandoned the work as late as February 1823, but though by then he had at least eight or nine further plates practically completed, no more parts were published.

The seventy-one published plates, however, remained on sale till the end of Turner's life in 1851, either in sets of Proofs or Prints, possibly in Parts, and probably even as single plates.

CHAPTER V

CLASSIFICATION

THE first sketch for a title-page for the LIBER STUDIORUM is to be found on one of the pages of the "Shipwreck" note-book, in which the names of the subscribers to Charles Turner's plate had been jotted down, and its presence in that book emphasizes the connexion between the two undertakings to which I have drawn attention above. The design, in which lettering is placed within an ornamental oval frame, is obviously an adaptation from that which Paul Sandby had used for his "Views in Wales." The lettering runs: "№ 1 of LIBER STUDIORUM being Studies for Pictures in History, Mountains, Pastoral, Marine and Architecture—and Landscapes. Price 15ˢ" This ludicrous wording gives some idea of the difficulties which the proposed system of classification presented to Turner's mind. These difficulties were rather theoretical and intellectual than artistic. Turner knew exactly what he wanted. He wanted to show that he was a master of all the forms of landscape painting which had hitherto been practised. But no art critic had introduced order or system into the general way of thinking about these forms, and the usual names applied to landscape—art and its various subdivisions reflected the intellectual confusion of artists and the public.

When Turner hung up the prospectus of his publication in his gallery in April 1807, the wording had been amended and improved, probably with Wells's friendly help. As Landseer gives it in a footnote (p. 155) in his "Review of Publications of Art" (June 1808) it had then taken the following form: "Proposals for publishing one hundred Landscapes, to be designed and etched by J. M. W. Turner, R.A., and engraved in Mezzotinto. It is intended in this publication to attempt a classification of the various styles of landscape, viz., the historic, mountainous, pastoral, marine, and architectural."

Wells and Turner knew their public well, so we may take it that this classification of styles was calculated to awaken and sustain interest in the publication. I believe that it had also a value to Turner himself, in directing and stimulating his powers of invention. It gave him a programme to work upon, and introduced some kind of order into the impulsive flow of his creative energies.

But though the system of classification had decided advantages, it also created difficulties. Many of the designs could quite easily be classed under different headings. There is probably something arbitrary in making *Solway Moss* a Pastoral and *Peat Bog* a Mountainous subject; and if *Norham* is a Pastoral, because it has cattle and peasants in it, it is difficult to explain why *St. Catherine's Hill* should be classed as an E.P. The system also imposed on Turner a demand that each part should contain examples of five different classes of subject, a demand which, towards the end, he was forced to ignore, as Parts X and XIII each contain two Mountainous subjects.

Doubtless the advantages of the system outweighed the disadvantages to

Turner's mind, whatever the modern mind with its dislike of system may think about it. He had in reality six classes of subject, though he seems to have regarded them as five, counting the two different kinds of Pastorals as one class. The classes were generally indicated by an initial capital letter which was engraved in the centre of the upper margin of each plate. The Architectural, Pastoral, Marine, and Historical classes were each indicated by its initial letter. Mountainous was sometimes indicated by Ms., sometimes merely by M. The second kind of Pastoral subject was indicated by the initials E.P., but Turner never explained what he meant the first initial to stand for. The two initials may have signified Epic Pastoral, Elegant Pastoral, or Elevated Pastoral; Messrs. Pye and Roget fancied Epic, Mr. Rawlinson and others favour Elegant, but my own fancy, based on a passage in one of Turner's letters quoted above (p. xxv), is for Elevated.

In the small pocket-book which contains a draft arrangement of the first fifty subjects, there are pages devoted to each of these six classes. Turner evidently used these pages to keep a record of his subjects under their appropriate headings. It is uncertain when these lists were made, but from various internal indications I think they were compiled before the second part was published, *i.e.*, early in 1808, though additions were certainly made later. These lists seem worth printing in full; but as Turner's titles will not always be readily recognized, I will add the titles and numbers in the present catalogue against each entry.

PASTORAL

(Turner's Titles)	(Numbers and Titles in Catalogue)
"1 Cocks and Hen	17. *Farm-yard with the Cock.*
2 Farm Yard	7. *The Straw Yard.*
3 Hedging and Ditching	47. *Hedging and Ditching.*
4 Twickenham Bridge x	62. *Watercress Gatherers.*
5 Thames Bank x	87. *Kingston Bank* (unpublished).
6 Juvenile Tricks	22. *Juvenile Tricks.*
7 Boy Fishing	32. *Young Anglers.*
8 Flounder Fishing x	89. *Flounder Fishing* (unpublished).
9 Solway Moss	52. *Solway Moss.*
10 Cows and Bridge	2. *Bridge and Cows.*
13 Say's Mill	27. *Windmill and Lock.*
15 Dunkaston Mill	37. *Water-Mill.*
16 Water mill	12. *Pembury Mill.*
17 Snow x	76. *Crowhurst* (unpublished).
18 Frosty Morning x	
19 Sheep-washing x	74. *Windsor Castle, etc.* (unpublished).
— Soldiers and Winchelsea x	42. *Winchelsea, and* 67, *East Gate.*
20 Norham	57. *Norham Castle.*
Haymaking	
Ploughing	? 79. *Ploughing, Eton.*
Harvest	
Potatoes dig."	

The cross (x) against several of the subjects was probably put at some time to draw attention to those which had not then been carried out.

E.P.

(Turner's Titles)	(Numbers and Titles in Catalogue)
"1 St Catharine's Hill	33. *St. Catherine's Hill.*
2 Chepstow River Wye	48. *River Wye.*
Clyde Fall	18. *Drawing of the Clyde.*
Walton Bridge	13. *Bridge in Middle Distance.*
Berry Pomeroy	58. *Berry Pomeroy Castle.*
Minerva Medica	23. *Temple of Minerva Medica.*
Castle	8. *Castle above the Meadows.*
Done	
Bridge	3. *Woman and Tambourine.*
My Chepstow	28. *Junction of Severn and Wye.*
Lewis Sheep	43. *Bridge and Goats.*
Tall Tree	38. *Scene in the Campagna.*
Say Castle & Mr	53. *Solitude.*
Isleworth	63. *Isleworth.*
[Leaf torn out]	
Appuleia	72. *Apuleia in search of Apuleius.*
Egremont's Isis	68. *Isis.*
ditto Thames"	——

Lord Egremont's *Thames* may refer to the oil painting of *Eton from Windsor*, which was exhibited in Turner's studio in 1808. *Berry Pomeroy* proves that the old name of Raglan Castle for No. 58 was wrong; while *Minerva Medica* disposes of *Hindoo Worshipper* as a title for No. 23.

MARINE

(Turner's Titles)	(Numbers and Titles in Catalogue)
"1 Dabblers	29. *Marine Dabblers.*
2 French Coast	4. *Scene on the French Coast.*
3 Martello Towers	34. *Martello Towers near Bexhill.*
4 Coast of Yorkshire	24. *Coast of Yorkshire.*
5 Calais	55. *Entrance of Calais Harbour.*
6 Calm	44. *Calm.*
7 Sunset Mildmay	40. *Mildmay Sea-piece.*
8 Dunstanboro'	14. *Dunstanborough Castle.*
9 Leader	20. *Leader Sea-piece.*
10 Egremonts	10. *Ships in a Breeze.*
. . . Shipwreck	
Leicester Shipwreck	
Fawkes ditto	

(Turner's Titles)	(Numbers and Titles in Catalogue)
Spithead	
Red Cap	
Hamoase	
Storm	84. *Lost Sailor* (?)
Calais Pier	
Dort"	

None of the additional subjects in the second column was used. The first *Shipwreck* may refer to Lord Yarborough's *Wreck of the Minotaur*, the second certainly refers to the *Shipwreck* now in the National Gallery, the third probably to a *Wreck of an East Indiaman*, a water-colour still at Farnley, though in a damaged condition. *Spithead* must be the *Boats crews recovering an Anchor*, now in the National Gallery, and "Red Cap" refers to *Pilot hailing a Whitstable Hoy*, an oil till recently at Farnley. I am not sure what pictures the next two entries refer to. *Calais Pier* is now in the National Gallery, and *Dort* is still at Farnley. This latter subject must be a later entry, as the picture was not painted till 1818.

Dunstanborough Castle, which is here classed as a Marine, was published 10th June 1808, when it was classed as an Architectural subject; the first part of this list therefore probably antedates the publication of the plate.

MOUNTAINOUS

(Turner's Titles)	(Numbers and Titles in Catalogue)
"1 Hind Head	25. *Hind Head Hill.*
Inverary Pier	35. *Inverary Pier.*
Scotchman	30. *Near Blair Athol.*
Peat Bog	45. *Peat Bog.*
Thun Lake	15. *Lake of Thun.*
Bonneville	64. *Bonneville, Savoy.*
Glen Croe	69. *Ben Arthur, Scotland.*
Chain of Alps	49. *Chain of Alps, etc.*
Gt. Devil's Bridge	78. *Via Mala.*
Little Devil's Bridge	19. *Little Devil's Bridge.*
St. Gothard	9. *Mont St. Gothard.*
Source of Arveron	60. *Source of the Arveron, etc.*
Mer de Glace	50. *Mer de Glace, etc.*
Avelanche"	——

Two of the published Mountainous subjects are not mentioned in this list, viz., *Mill near the Grand Chartreuse* (54) and *Inverary Castle* (65).

ARCHITECTURE

(Turner's Titles)	(Numbers and Titles in Catalogue)
"Morpeth	21. *Morpeth.*
Dunblaine	56. *Dumblain Abbey.*
Thun	59. *Ville de Thun.*
Basle	5. *Basle.*
Lauffenbourg	31. *Lauffenbourg.*
Rivaulx Abbey	51. *Rivaux Abbey.*
Soanes	39. *Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey.*
Holy Island"	11. *Holy Island Cathedral.*

Three of the published Architectural subjects do not appear in this list, viz., *Dunstanborough Castle* (14), which was at first classed as a Marine, *London from Greenwich* (26), which was published January 1811, and *Interior of a Church* (70).

HISTORICAL

(Turner's Titles)	(Numbers and Titles in Catalogue)
"Rispath	46. *Rispah.*
Spenser's Fairy Queen	36. *From Spenser's Fairy Queen.*
Cephalus and Procris	41. *Procris and Cephalus.*
Jason	6. *Jason.*
Beckford Plague	16. *Fifth Plague of Egypt.*
10th Plague	61. *Tenth Plague of Egypt.*
Pan and Syrinx	80. *Pan and Syrinx.*
Woman of Samaria	71. *The Woman of Samaria.*
Glaucus and Scylla	73. *Glaucus and Scylla.*
Esacus and Hesperie	66. *Æsacus and Hesperie.*
Tempest	
Deluge	88. *The Deluge.*
Hannibal	
Cambycus in the Desert	
Carthage	
Elisha. Valley of Bones	
Python."	

As each of the published parts contained a Pastoral and an E.P. subject, it seems probable that Turner intended to give twenty plates to each of these classes.

Fourteen Pastoral subjects were published, and the list given above provides four more among the unpublished plates, viz., *Windsor* (74), *Crowhurst* (76), *Ploughing, Eton* (79), *Stonehenge* (81); while *Kingston Bank* (87), *Flounder Fishing* (89), and *Sand Bank with Gipsies* (91), possibly provide three more subjects from the unpublished plates, making twenty-one in all; but at least one of these—*Kingston Bank*—may have been scrapped. It is interesting to know that the *Frosty Morning* might have been included in the series had the undertaking been

completed. It is a pity that this beautiful picture was not engraved by Turner or under his supervision.

Of the E.P. subjects sixteen are accounted for in the above list, including Lord Egremont's *Thames*—probably *Eton from the Thames*, now at Petworth—the engraving of which does not seem to have been begun. There are four unpublished subjects which may have been intended to complete this class, viz., *Dumbarton Rock* (75), *Temple of Jupiter* (77), *Stork and Aqueduct* (83), and *Narcissus and Echo* (90).

If Turner had intended to give twenty plates out of the proposed hundred to these two classes, it would have left him with sixty to divide between the four other classes. This would give an average of fifteen for each of them; but his arrangement was apparently not so symmetrical.

Nine Marine subjects were published, and there are four more among the unpublished plates, viz., *Felucca* (82)—which seems to be a variation on the "Red Cap" theme—*Lost Sailor* (84), and the two *Moonlights* (85 and 86). This makes thirteen, and there are eight possible subjects to choose from in the list given above, in case he had wanted to bring this number up to twenty.

Fourteen Mountainous subjects were published, and the unpublished *Via Mala* (78) would make the fifteenth.

There are, curiously enough, no Architectural subjects among the unpublished plates. We have therefore only the eleven published subjects to represent this class.

The Historical class is better provided for. There are eight published plates and three unpublished, making eleven; and there are six unused subjects in Turner's list to choose from if he had wished to increase this number.

Had the series been completed in accordance with Turner's intentions, we should therefore probably have had twenty Pastorals, twenty E.P.'s, twenty Marines, fifteen Mountainous, eleven Architectural, and fourteen Historical subjects.

To us, nowadays, the interest in Turner's proposed system of classification is somewhat remote. The initials engraved in the centre of the top margin of each plate add little to our enjoyment of the subject; but they play a large part in our study of the various states through which the engravings passed.

CHAPTER VI

THE DRAWINGS

FROM the draft advertisement written by Turner in 1808, given above in Chapter IV, we learn that fifty of the drawings intended to be engraved were exhibited in Turner's gallery on 18th April 1808. Which were these drawings? I think we can answer this question satisfactorily, because about the time of this exhibition Turner drew up a list of the proposed contents of the first ten parts of his publication. The proposed arrangement was not adhered to, but the subjects included in the arrangement were most probably the subjects for which drawings had then been made.

The list, besides giving us this information, also gives us Turner's own titles for the subjects; and as incorrect names have been given to several of those which were published without titles, this is a matter of some importance.

The list occurs in "Liber Notes (2) Sketch Book," which is numbered CLIV(a) in my Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest. A transcript of this list appears below in the first three columns, the remaining columns containing details which may elucidate or add interest to Turner's list. In the last column I have given the dates, so far as I can ascertain them, when the sketches from nature were made upon which many of the designs were based, and where these sketches are now to be found. It will be seen that the latest of these sketches were made in October 1807; this date corroborates the conclusion that all these drawings were made before April 1808.

With regard to the arrangement of the subjects, it will be seen that the contents of the first two published Parts agree with the list, but that the published contents from Part III onwards differ. The list therefore may have been drawn up after the publication of Part II, in February 1808, though an earlier date is possible, but it must have been made before Part III was published, in June 1808, or before the contents of this part were determined.

Part	No.	Turner's Titles	Usual Titles	Classification	Nos. in present Cat.	Dates, etc., of Sketches from Nature, or Pictures, on which designs were based.
1	1	Cows and Bridge	Bridge and Cows	P.	2	
	2	E.P. Bridge	Woman and Tambourine	E.P.	3	
	3	Basle Bridge	Basle	A.	5	1802. *Fonthill Sk. Bk.*, T.B., XLVII, *p.* 54.
	4	French Coast	Flint Castle	Ma.	4	
	5	Jason	Jason	H.	6	*Oil painting. Exhibited R.A.*, 1802.
2	1	White Horse	Straw Yard	P.	7	
	2	E.P. Castle	Castle above Meadows	E.P.	8	
	3	Mt. St. Gothard	Mont St. Gothard	Ms.	9	1802. *St. Gothard, etc., Sk. Bk.*, T.B., LXXV.
	4	Lord Egremont	Ships in a Breeze	Ma.	10	*Oil painting. Exhibited R.A.*, 1802.
	5	Holy Island	Holy Island Cathedral	A.	11	1797. *North of England Sk. Bk.*, T.B., XXXIV, *p.* 54.

Say's Peacock	68.	*Isis.* Engraved by W. Say.
Glenco. Lupton.	69.	*Ben Arthur.* Engraved by T. Lupton.
Deluge	88.	Unpublished. Probably engraved by J. M. W. Turner.
Kingston.	87.	*Kingston Bank.* Unpub. Probably eng. by J. M. W. Turner.
Glacus. Say.	73.	*Glaucus and Scylla.* Unpublished. Engraved by W. Say.
Apuleia. ditto.	72.	*Apuleia, etc.* Unpublished. Engraved by W. Say.
Dumbarton (?)	75.	Unpublished. Engraved by T. Lupton.
Woman (?)	71.	*Woman of Samaria.* Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.
Salthill. C. Turner	74.	*Sheep Washing, Windsor.* Unpub. Engraved by Chas. Turner.
East Gate.	67.	*East Gate, Winchelsea.* Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.
Rls Bridge. Lupton.	62.	*Watercress Gatherers.* Engraved by T. Lupton.
Knights Pic. }	77.	*Temple of Jupiter.* Unpublished. Engraved by H. Dawe.
Snow } Daw	76.	*Crowhurst.* Unpublished. Engraved by H. Dawe.
Devil's Bridge }	78.	*Via Mala.* Unpublished. Engraved by H. Dawe.
Church	70.	*Interior of a Church.* Engraved by J. M. W. Turner.
Moon	85.	*Moonlight at Sea.* Unpub. Engraved by J. M. W. Turner.
Putney. doubtful."	89.	*Flounder Fishing.* Unpub. Engraved by J. M. W. Turner.

It will be seen that all the plates which were afterwards published in Parts XIII and XIV, on 1st January 1819, are included in the above list, together with eleven of those which remained unpublished.

In the following list I give the dates and references to the sketches from nature on which many of the latter portion of subjects were based.

No.	Title	Date of Sketch	Details	Watermark of Etching, when known
52	Solway Moss	1801	*Scottish Tour. Ruskin Drawing School*	1810
53	Solitude			
54	Mill, Grand Chartreuse	1802	*Swiss Tour*	
55	Calais Harbour		*Oil painting, about* 1804	
56	Dumblain	1801	*Scottish Tour. Ruskin Drawing School*	
57	Norham	1797	*North of England Sketch Book, p.* 57	1810
58	Berry Pomeroy	1811	*Devonshire Tour*	
59	Ville de Thun	1802	*Lake of Thun Sketch Book, p.* 48.	
60	Arveron	1802		
61	Tenth Plague		*In first batch of fifty Drawings*	
62	Watercress Gatherers		*Before* 1818	
63	Isleworth		" "	
64	Bonneville	1802	*St. Gothard Sketch Book, p.* 7	1810
65	Inverary Castle	1801		
66	Æsacus and Hesperie		*Before* 1818	
67	East Gate, Winchelsea	1804-6	*Sussex Sketch Book, p.* 44.	1809
68	Isis		*Oil painting, exhibited* 1807	
69	Ben Arthur	1801		
70	Interior of Church		*Before* 1818	
71	Woman of Samaria		" "	

No.	Title	Date of Sketch	Details	Watermark of Etching, when known
72	Apuleia, etc.		*Oil painting, exhibited B.I.*, 1814	1817
73	Glaucus and Scylla		*Before* 1818	1813
74	Sheep Washing, Windsor	1818	*Skies Sketch Book, p. 62a*	1817
75	Dumbarton	1801		
76	Crowhurst		*Before* 1818	
77	Temple of Jupiter		*Oil painting, exhibited* 1816	1817
78	Via Mala	1802	*Before* 1815	1815
79	Ploughing, Eton			
80	Pan and Syrinx			
81	Stonehenge			
82	Felucca			
83	Stork and Aqueduct			1822
84	Lost Sailor			
85	Moonlight—Needles		*Before* 1818	
86	Moonlight on Medway		*Turner Bequest*, CCLXIII, no. 328	
87	Kingston Bank		*Oil painting, exhibited* 1809	
88	Deluge		" " *R.A.*, 1813	
89	Flounder Fishing		*Water colour,* " *R.A.*, 1811	
90	Narcissus and Echo		*Oil painting,* " *R.A.*, 1804	
91	Sandbank with Gipsies		" " 1809	

It will be noticed that the material, when it can be traced, upon which many of the published drawings in the second volume were founded, nearly all belongs to the same early period as that utilized for the first fifty drawings. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the majority of these twenty drawings were made between 1808 and 1810. A careful study of the style of these drawings confirms this assumption. *Berry Pomeroy* must be later, as it was sketched in the Devonshire Tour. I would suggest about 1812 as the date of this drawing, and probably *Watercress Gatherers*, *Isleworth*, and *Æsacus* belong to about the same date.

Of the unpublished subjects eleven, as we have seen, were in the engravers' hands by 1818. The drawings for these were probably done some years earlier. Some of those for the remaining unpublished subjects were probably not much later in date. The latest seem to have been *Felucca* and *Stork and Aqueduct*. But these, I imagine, were done either in 1818 or early in 1819, before Turner's first visit to Italy.

If these assumptions are correct the drawings for sixty-seven of the published subjects were made between 1806 and 1810. This may account for the distinct individuality which the LIBER STUDIORUM possesses. For these plates differ not only from the works of other artists, they also differ considerably from the designs which Turner produced before and after this publication. Had the majority of the published plates of LIBER STUDIORUM not been designed within a comparatively short period of time, they would hardly have that unity of character which they now possess.

I must now refer to what have been called the Unengraved Drawings of LIBER STUDIORUM, Nos. 92-99, in the last edition of Mr. Rawlinson's catalogue.

That these drawings should be connected with LIBER STUDIORUM is doubtful. The titles of none of them appear in any of the lists drawn up by Turner of the subjects he intended to include in his work. The only connecting link between these drawings and LIBER STUDIORUM which the most painstaking scrutiny can discover is the fact that they are drawn in sepia, the medium generally, but not invariably, used for the engraved drawings. But such a link is not only feeble, it is misleading, for there are many drawings in sepia by Turner which are not connected at all with LIBER STUDIORUM.

It seems to me that the historian of a publication is bound to make an effort to define the limits of the work with which he is dealing. The limits of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM are clearly defined by the objects with which the work was undertaken. Turner's main object, as we have seen, was to produce a series of engravings which should be executed under his own supervision. It is therefore only with engravings for which Turner had made himself responsible that we are concerned. Strictly speaking, Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM begins and ends with the engravings which he himself published. The engravings which were completed or only partially completed, but which were not published, are objects of a perfectly legitimate curiosity, and as such they come within the limits of a complete history and catalogue of the work. But beyond this I consider we have no right to go. Any attempt to go beyond these limits lands us in a region of vague surmises, uncertainties, and dangers, without the slightest prospect of any compensating advantages.

From this point of view it is unfortunate—though fortunate enough in other respects—that the eight so-called Unengraved Drawings should have been engraved and issued in the style and *format* adopted by Turner for his LIBER STUDIORUM. I call this unfortunate, because these engravings have thus come to be regarded by the public as a part, a continuation, and even a completion, of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM, and the main object of Turner's publication, which was to produce a series of original engravings made either by himself or under his personal supervision, has thus been obscured.

On the other hand, I regard it as fortunate that an engraver like Sir Frank Short should have devoted so much of his genius and time to the interpretation of these and other drawings by Turner. Mechanical reproductions are no substitute for the inspired interpretations of a fine engraver. I look forward to the time when engraving shall once again take its proper place among the arts. Sir Frank Short's engravings of Turner's drawings are among the finest pieces of engraving which have been produced in our own time. But it is just because they are so fine, and so individual, that it seems a pity to regard them in a false light. They are not a part of, or continuation of, or a completion of, Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM: they belong to Sir Frank Short's engraved work, in which, indeed, they hold a very high, a very honourable, and a very important place.

CHAPTER VII

THE ETCHINGS

THE reasons which induced Turner to start with the intention of etching each plate himself are fairly obvious. The etching was the engraved equivalent to the pen lines in the original drawings. It provided the ground plan of the design; it established the relative sizes and positions of all the spaces. With these well and truly determined the chances of error in the engraving were minimized. And the evidence of Earlom's plates suggested that the engravers could not be trusted to do this part of the work themselves. The etching in Earlom's plates is indeed by far their least satisfactory feature. Earlom's line is a travesty of Claude's; it misses the gravity, largeness, and simplicity of Claude's line, and substitutes the pettiness, pretentious ignorance, and cheap and easy facility of a shallow mind for Claude's seriousness. In this connexion it is worth mentioning that the fiercest attacks on Claude's reputation—those made by Mr. Ruskin in the third volume of his "Modern Painters"—were based not on Claude's own work, but on Earlom's travesties of it.

Turner had no intention of being outraged in this way: indeed the central idea of his publication was to prevent it, or at least to discount it in advance. "If after your death," Wells had said to him, "any work injurious to your fame should be executed, it then could be compared with the one you yourself gave to the public." He therefore decided to do the etchings himself. But he took as little trouble over the work as possible. He required the engraver of the plate to lay the etching-ground and trace the lines of his drawing upon it (*see* Lupton's letter, Pye and Roget's "Notes, etc.," p. 58). When this was done Turner drew the lines with the needle, evidently working freely and quickly, often varying his original lines, for, as he said in one of his letters, he could not "follow line by line with the Drawing" (Pye and Roget, p. 52). The biting-in was then left to the engraver, who had a proof pulled, which he submitted to Turner; he also laid a transparent ground over the plate which he sent with the proof in case Turner should want to make any alterations or additions.

These etchings were never published, but before the engraver began work on the plate Turner generally had about a dozen proofs pulled. Some of these proofs were used as foundations for sepia drawings made to assist the engraver in his work; the others remained in Turner's possession till his death, and were first brought into circulation when his stock of engravings was dispersed by order of the Court of Chancery in 1873. A few copies of the etchings must, however, have been sold or given away by Turner before his death, as Stokes and Dillon owned sets before the Turner sale of 1873. The average number of impressions of the etchings now in existence would probably work out at about eight for each subject.

In some cases Turner appears to have allowed the engravers to put in a few additional lines in the course of the mezzotinting. The note on Mr. Allen's

touched proof of the etching of the *Lake of Thun* (XV) is a case in point. The additions sometimes, but not always, constitute the Second States of the Etchings. When the etching is claimed as Turner's I believe that practically all the work shown on the proofs of the etchings is Turner's work. Mr. Rawlinson's opinion on this question is not very clearly stated (RAWLINSON, p. 227).

When Turner realized, in 1807, that it would be necessary to employ other engravers in addition to Charles Turner, he employed F. C. Lewis for one plate, an engraver of far less intelligence and skill than Charles Turner possessed. When Turner's etching of *The Bridge and Goats* (XLIII) was done, Lewis complained that the lines did not follow exactly those in the original drawing. Turner was therefore compelled to work out the whole subject again in sepia on one of the proofs of the etching. He was apparently annoyed at having to waste his time in this way. He therefore wrote to the engraver, when he sent him a second drawing, saying,—" [if] you cannot proceed without my Etching being exactly similar to the Drawing it is of little use in my etching them first—for [I] cannot follow line by line with the Drawing—therefore I wish you to etch the one I now send, and when you send it home send an etching ground over yours with a proof print—then what Etching is wanted I can add. I think this will be best way, for to touch up an Etching is full as much trouble to me as making the Drawing " (RAWLINSON, p. 210).

Turner evidently thought that if Lewis's want of intelligence involved extra work, it was only fair that the engraver should bear a share of it. Besides, the extra work Lewis was asked to do was slight compared with the extra work Turner had been forced to perform, in making a fresh sepia drawing of the *Bridge and Goats*, for after the engraver had traced the pen work on to the etched ground it would have involved little trouble or time for him to needle the lines and bite them lightly, leaving Turner free to use or correct and amplify this first biting, as he proposed to do. Lewis, who possessed more commercial than artistic ability, had the impudence to ask that his fee should be increased more than fifty per cent. (from five guineas to eight) for performing this trifling additional work. Turner's letter, dated 14th December 1807, terminating the employment of this rapacious gentleman will be given below, in the chapter on Engraving.

The lettering of the published plates definitely claims the etching of all but five of the published plates as Turner's work. In one of these five plates, *Interior of a Church* (LXX), there is no etching *au trait*, and Turner does not seem to have regarded the soft-ground etching with which this subject was commenced as etching proper. The remaining four etchings not claimed by him are *Mill near the Grand Chartreuse* (LIV), *Berry Pomeroy* (LVIII), *Source of the Arveron* (LX), and *Bonneville* (LXIV). Two of these, the *Mill* and *Bonneville*, were engraved by Henry Dawe. The etching of these two plates is clearly not by Turner, and it has always been accepted as by Dawe. No doubt this opinion is correct, though I am inclined to think that the foreground figures in *Bonneville*

may be by Turner. The etching of the two other plates, *Berry Pomeroy* and *Arveron*, is so similar in manner to that of the first two, that if they are by Dawe, the others are almost certainly by him.

But these two latter plates were engraved by Turner himself! At first sight I must say that it seems strange to find Turner engraving a plate which had been etched by another hand. But the evidence is too strong to leave room for doubt. Had Turner etched these two plates himself, the inscription on them would certainly have been similar to those on the *Junction of the Severn and Wye* (XXVIII), *Inverary Pier* (XXXV), *Kirkstall* (XXXIX), *Calm* (XLIV), *Mer de Glace* (L), *Calais Harbour* (LV), and *Æsacus* (LXVI). These plates are all lettered "Drawn, Etched, and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner"; while the lettering on *Berry Pomeroy* and *Arveron* merely states that they were "Drawn and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner." These words might, I admit, in another context, be taken to mean that the etching being part of the engraving was claimed by Turner, but in their present context the omission of any reference to the etching must be taken to imply that it was not by Turner. In addition to this we have the distinct difference in manner of these two etchings from that of all the etchings claimed by Turner, and their marked inferiority to even the weakest of Turner's own etchings.

But when it is granted that these etchings are not by Turner, we have yet to overcome our astonishment that Turner, after attaching so much importance to the etching at the beginning of his publication, should, at the end, attach such little importance to it as to employ an inferior hand for it when he himself was doing the engraving. Yet perhaps Turner knew his own business better than we know it. If he thought the time saved by letting Dawe, or someone else, make these etchings was worth saving, he was probably right. And we cannot suppose that *Berry Pomeroy* was injured, either as an engraving or as an invention, by the inferiority of its etching to that of most of the other plates which were etched by Turner. *Berry Pomeroy* is admittedly one of the finest plates in the whole series. It matters not whether we call it *Raglan*, as Ruskin called it, and as we all used to do, or whether we give it its proper name of *Berry Pomeroy*, it still moves us as only the greatest things in art can move us. And if it does this, I think we are bound to admit that Turner must have been right in judging it of little importance whose hand drew the etched lines on the copper, so long as those lines were guided by his own drawing.

And having admitted this I think we ought to go farther. The inferiority of the etching of *Berry Pomeroy* is only evident in the proofs of the etching; in the engraving it has ceased to exist. You have to look for it, to pry and peer, and attempt to think away the light and shade; and even then I doubt if you will find it. I feel sure now that I cannot see it, though in the etching itself I can see little else. I conclude therefore that, *in the engraving* there is nothing wrong with the etching. The line, which in the etching is so halting and infirm, becomes

in the engraving part of a higher expressiveness. The light and shade really smothers the line, but when we try to pay attention to the line, we can only think of it as what the light and shade has made it. The clothing of light and shade in the engraving actually transforms the line into something which, by itself, it is not.

To prove that this is the correct way to regard the etchings it is only necessary to approach the facts from a different direction. Instead of looking at the etchings first and then at the engravings, look at the engravings first and, if you know the etchings well, try to forget them. Take up a good First State of *Berry Pomeroy*, and if you do not know the etching by heart you will find it impossible to convince yourself by what you are looking at that Turner did not etch the subject as well as engrave it. It is the same with the *Source of the Arveron*. As evidence, I may be permitted to refer to something I wrote many years ago. I had then been studying these two engravings, and I could not bring myself to admit that all the authorities were right when they agreed that these etchings were not by Turner. I know now that the opinions on these points expressed in my book on "Turner's Sketches and Drawings" (pp. 81 and 82) were wrong. And they were wrong because I had fixed my attention on the engravings, and had forgotten, or neglected to look at, the etchings. But I believe that anyone who approaches the question in this way is likely to come to the same erroneous conclusions.

It is probable, therefore, that Turner was right in thinking that any intelligent engraver could etch the outlines as well as he could. The quality of line which we find in the best of Turner's own etchings, in *Inverary Pier*, *Peat Bog*, *Norham Castle*, *London*, and a dozen other masterpieces; its swiftness, its delicacy, its grace and precision, its absolute sincerity, and, above all, its eloquent restraint, is nearly lost in the engraving. The sheer beauty of Turner's line work can only be appreciated in the etchings themselves. As supports for the mezzotint, any careful and fairly correct outlines copying the chief features of Turner's original drawing would have done just as well. Turner must have realized this before many plates were done, and the knowledge must have made him chafe at the time taken up by having to do the etchings himself. But this knowledge did not lead to scamped or perfunctory work. I believe Turner simply could not scamp his work. We have seen his remark, in one of the letters already referred to, that he could not copy even one of his own drawings "line for line"; the reason being probably that the subject took possession of him as soon as he began to work. That is why, I imagine, he so often produced masterpieces with his etching needle when very ordinary copies of his own drawings made by another hand would have done just as well for his practical purpose.

But though the expressive quality of line, as line, is lost in the mezzotint, we must remember that the etched line had another purpose to fulfil in the engravings of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM. It had to act as a support to the

shadows. But for this depth of biting was the main consideration. The quality of line counted for little; it was only its strength of ink that was useful.

It has often been objected to Turner's etchings that though they are fine as drawings, they show little feeling for the intrinsic qualities of etching. They contain no " velvety blacks," no fascinating scribbles, no airs and graces; they are not what the modern critic loves to call " spontaneous," nor are they brilliant, nor witty.

I cheerfully admit all these objections, because I think these etchings contain so many higher and rarer qualities. In them Turner has dropped alike the dainty virtuosity of his early pencil outlines (1795-1797), and the joyous swagger of his Scottish and Swiss sketches of 1801 and 1802. His line is now sedate, governed by the intellect rather than the emotions. The technical limitations are accepted with perfect loyalty. His hand invariably stops before his self-imposed limits are reached. But the line is never dull, never empty. On the contrary, it is packed full of meaning. In the *Little Devil's Bridge*, for example, the drawing of the rocks and fir trees on the left, the broken tree-stump and the mountain-side on the right, and the one-arched bridge in the centre could not be better done.

Turner's line, to me, has a quality which I find hard to describe. It is so free from affectation or self-consciousness, so straightforward, so honest, so fearless and genial, so effortless, so sensitive, yet so thoroughly workmanlike. Though it is quite personal it has no mannerisms; though it slurs over no difficulties, nothing is over-stated or scamped. I think, on the whole, it is probably the poise of his mind that gives me such intense pleasure in his line, and perhaps the implicit strength of his character; the years of patient " submitting the mind to things " which are implied in his profound knowledge of everything he draws, his tenderness, his sympathy, his whole-hearted love of his work, and his self-forgetting absorption in it; the steady-going way in which he always does just the right thing with his line, and never does more, never even seems tempted to do either more or less. I believe only the greatest artists are capable of this serene and equable poise. I find something of the same quality of mind in Holbein's line, and in Dürer's, but it is rare, even among the greatest. And while Turner's etchings, like *Inverary Pier*, *Kirkstall*, *Little Devil's Bridge*, *Mont St. Gothard*, *London*, *Peat Bog*, *Solway Moss*, and *Isleworth* possess qualities like these, I care little if they stand condemned by the standards of the self-styled revivalists of the mid-Victorian era.

We will now turn our attention to the unpublished Etchings. Here we have no lettering on the plates to tell us which etchings were done by Turner; our only guides are tradition, gossip, and our own sense of style.

No etchings exist for eight of the twenty unpublished plates; one has always been attributed to Dawe or some other engraver; eight have always been

attributed to Turner, and the attributions are unquestionable; but there are three others which have generally been attributed to Turner of which the attribution is less convincing.

The eight subjects for which no etchings exist are *Stonehenge* (81), *Felucca* (82), *Lost Sailor* (84), the two *Moonlights* (85 and 86), *Kingston Bank* (87), *Deluge* (88), and *Flounder Fishing* (89).

The one etching which all agree is not by Turner is *Pan and Syrinx* (80).

The eight which are unquestionably by Turner are *Apuleius* (72), *Glaucus and Scylla* (73), *Sheep-Washing* (74), *Crowhurst* (76), the first etching of *Ploughing, Eton* (79), *Stork and Aqueduct* (83), *Narcissus and Echo* (90), and *Sand Bank* (91), the two last being in soft-ground. The plate of *Ploughing, Eton* was not considered satisfactory by Turner and was discarded. *Apuleius*, *Glaucus*, and *Sheep-Washing* are as fine as any of the published plates. *Crowhurst* and *Stork and Aqueduct* are perhaps finer; at any rate, they are different. They seem to be later in date than the others. In the interval since the first published etchings were done, Turner's attitude towards nature and art had changed. An increase of tenderness and humility is evident in these plates. The exquisite delicacy and individuality of the trees in *Crowhurst* make it, at least to my mind, one of the finest, as it was probably one of the latest, of Turner's etchings.

The three etchings which have hitherto been generally attributed to Turner, but whose attribution I venture to question, are *Dumbarton* (75), *The Temple of Jupiter* (77), and *Via Mala* (78).

THE "DUMBARTON" ETCHING

The line in this etching is weak, fussy, insensitive, everywhere betraying a want of knowledge. The etcher seems to have traced the pen lines in Turner's drawing and copied them as accurately as he could, yet in every instance he has lost the grace and strength of Turner's tree-stems and branches, and the lightness and freedom of his foliage. In one place, that of the tree shooting upwards to the left above the stone beside the stile, he seems to have misunderstood Turner's drawing. But the rendering of the two slender trees near the centre is perhaps even more conclusive that the etching was not by Turner. In the drawing the mingled grace and strength of these two trees is rendered with the most consummate ease and mastery: in the etching, every subtle curve and change of direction is laboriously copied and travestied, so that instead of living, swaying trees we get merely dead wood and spikey twigs. Every form, from the stones in the foreground to the distant mountains, is similarly degraded and devitalized in the etching; with the exception of the girl's figure, which is better than that in the drawing, and which I suppose, therefore, to have been put in by Turner.

Others beside myself have noticed the marked inferiority of this etching to those which are known to be by Turner, but the evidence in favour of the ascription to him has been thought conclusive. This evidence, however, is really

of the flimsiest description. When Lupton was engaged to mezzotint the plate he was supplied with a copper on which the etching had already been made. He therefore seems to have jumped to the conclusion that Turner had done the etching himself (Catalogue of the Exhibition of "Liber Studiorum" at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1872).

This evidence proves only that Lupton did not do the etching; it does not prove that Dawe or some other engraver did not do it, or that Turner did. I can only say that it would acquire far more conclusive evidence than Lupton's vague surmise to convince me that Turner's hand could so completely lose its cunning, as it must have done if this etching was by him.

THE "TEMPLE OF JUPITER" ETCHING

This etching is a painstaking copy of the pen and sepia drawing which now belongs jointly to Mr. J. V. and Mr. A. Hibbert. The tree-drawing here is less futile than in the *Dumbarton* etching, but I cannot find in it the indubitable stamp of Turner's hand. The figures, too, are in workmanship quite unlike the figures in the original drawing, and unlike any of those in Turner's own etchings. The line in Turner's figures is always supple and flowing; here it is angular and rigid, as it is also in the figures of *Via Mala*.

THE "VIA MALA" ETCHING

Here the conception and design are so stupendous that it is difficult to study the quality of the lines without reading into them something of the grandeur of the thought they express. In discussing the etching of *Berry Pomeroy* I have already had occasion to refer to the glamour which the subject throws over the execution. On first looking at the etching of *Via Mala* one's imagination is so quickly inflamed by the splendour of the design and the daring and originality of the conception that one naturally assumes that the lines which have produced so powerful an impression must be beyond criticism. But a good copy would produce much the same effect as the original, and it is difficult to say how far the effect produced by the lines is unconsciously coloured and strengthened by our memories of the original drawing and the mezzotint. If we study the lines by themselves we find that they miss much of the delicacy of Turner's own rendering of mountain forms; as, for example, in the original drawing of this subject, or in the etching of *Mont St. Gothard*. Those who are sufficiently interested to study the subject with me may be recommended to read Mr. Stopford Brooke's admirable remarks on the *St. Gothard* plate in his "Notes," pp. 32-35. I have only space here to quote one passage. The massive effects of Turner's rock drawings are produced, he says, "more particularly by the infinite change and variety of his outline of a precipice or the edge of a rock—the main curve or fall of the line altering at every tenth of an inch its sweep—so that the eye, unconsciously arrested at every point, never seems to come to an end. The vast

rock outlines have this subtlety and variety, but it needs a hand almost as subtle and various as Nature's own to render them." After verifying the truth of these remarks by a fresh examination of the mountain forms in the *St. Gothard* etching, let the student then turn to the *Via Mala* etching. There is no variety and no subtlety in any of the curves. The rocks are not living things, but dead masses of matter. Where Turner's drawing hints at structure, the etcher becomes too explicit, thus producing a diagram rather than a drawing. Turner's swift indications of mountain forms are often misunderstood, in much the same way as the etcher of the *Source of the Arveron* misunderstood Turner's drawing. The figures, too, have the same stiff, square-cut character which is to be found in *The Temple of Jupiter* etching.

I must, however, point out that this etching has been greatly admired by some of the best authorities on Turner's work. Mr. Ruskin, for instance, speaks very highly of it. The question is evidently one which we must each study and answer for ourselves.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENGRAVING

IT has been said that Turner at first intended to employ aquatint as the medium for his engravings, and the statement has been so often repeated that it has come to be regarded as authoritative. The only ground for assuming that Turner had such an intention is the erroneous assumption that F. C. Lewis's plate of *The Bridge and Goats* (43), which was engraved partly in aquatint, was the first plate to be engraved. That it was not, is proved by the following letter (which is now in the British Museum) from Turner to the engraver:

SIR,

I have received the Proof and Drawing [*Bridge and Cows*], the Proof I like very well but do not think the grain is as fine as those you showed me for Mr. Chamberlain—the effect of the Drawing is well preserved, but as you wish to raise the Price to eight guineas I must decline having the other Drawing [probably the *Junction of Severn and Wye*] engraved—therefore send it when you send the plate. When they have arrived safe, the five guineas shall be left in Salisbury St. where you'll be so good as to leave a receipt for the same.

Yours,
J. M. W. TURNER.

14 Dec. 1807,
Hammersmith.

This letter shows that Lewis's plate was engraved in December 1807, and, as we have seen, Part I, containing five plates engraved in mezzotint by Charles Turner, had been published six months earlier, viz., in June 1807. Lewis's statement, made in a letter written in 1850, that his plate of the *Bridge and Goats* was the first to be engraved for Mr. Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM must therefore have been incorrect. But so far as I know, only one writer on this subject has noticed the importance of these dates; I allude to Mr. C. F. Bell, whose admirable discussion of this question in "The Genius of Turner," published in 1903, has not received the attention it deserves.

Before leaving this subject I had better refer to another letter by Turner in which aquatint is mentioned. This is printed in Pye and Roget, p. 48. It is addressed to John Girtin, a writing engraver, the brother of Thomas Girtin.

MR GIRTIN: SIR,—Be so good as to clear the marginal lines, which are at present very bad, double in some places and the etching over [them]. If we succeed I should like to have them engraved like MR Daniell's. Respecting the strength, don't be fearful. Let me see how the sky can be made to clear out, like a grain of aquatinta; and then the rest in proportion. As long as you can maintain clearness, be not timid as to depth; regard only the gradation of the Shadows.

You may be sure that I am rather anxious to see how the first answers, and therefore the sooner you can let me see a proof the more you will oblige

Your obedient Servant,
J. M. W. TURNER.

As this letter is not dated it is hard to understand why Mr. Rawlinson should say that it " was doubtless written by Turner at the very beginning of his plans for the LIBER—possibly in 1806 " (RAWLINSON, p. 208). There is nothing in the letter itself to support this assumption. The words, " I am rather anxious to see how the first answers," evidently mean the first plate Mr. Girtin was going to engrave for him, which need not have been the first plate of the publication. So far as we can judge from the letter, it might very well have been written just before or after the letter to Lewis given above.

It is not at all certain even that the plate referred to in this letter was one of the LIBER STUDIORUM subjects. If it was, it is evident that the experiment did not " answer," as there are no known plates by John Girtin among the published or unpublished plates. But the letter is interesting as it shows that Turner tried to give employment to his old acquaintance and rival's brother, though nothing came of the attempt. The reference to " Mr Daniell's "—probably Thomas and William Daniell's *Oriental Scenery*, published between 1795 and 1808—shows how ready Turner was to admire the good work of his brother-artists.

For these reasons I think we must reject the generally accepted statement that Turner at first intended his plates to be engraved in aquatint. The orignal intention was to publish a hundred landscapes " to be designed and etched " by himself, and " Engraved in Mezzotinto." Though only seventy-one plates were published, these were all engraved in mezzotint. They were not, however, all engraved entirely in mezzotint, for aquatint was used partially for a few plates.

By the time the first part had been engraved and published, and the plates for the second part were in the engraver's hands, Turner seems to have thought that better results might be got by combining the two processes. His attention had been drawn afresh to the capacities of aquatint by the beautiful results William Daniell was obtaining in that medium, especially in the treatment of skies. The sight of Daniell's masterly aquatints may well have induced him to think that finer and lighter skies, with more delicate gradations, could be obtained by the use of aquatint than in mezzotint, and that these delicate effects would wear better in the printing.

Two of the plates published in Part III have the sky engraved in aquatint, viz., *Bridge in Middle-Distance* (13), and *Dunstanborough Castle* (14); but it is probable that the plate of *Bridge and Goats* (43), which was not published till Part IX, was engraved before these two plates were put in hand.

It has been assumed, though there is no evidence to support such an assumption, that Turner wished the *Bridge and Goats* to be engraved entirely in aquatint. The plate is certainly engraved upon an aquatint foundation, as were several of the plates engraved by Turner himself, but mezzotint was used upon the foreground, the middle-distance, and even upon part of the sky, and there are no reasons whatever to suppose that this was done against Turner's wishes, or was not done in obedience to his express instructions. There was not sufficient range of tone

in aquatint to satisfy Turner. The only advantage it possesses over mezzotint is in the light tones. The darker tones in aquatint are wanting in depth and richness.

But though Turner said, in a letter to Lewis the engraver of *Bridge and Goats*, that he liked the proof and that " the effect of the Drawing is well preserved," it seems probable that he was not altogether satisfied with the plate, as he held it back for over four years before publishing it. I believe that he considered Lewis had not used sufficient mezzotint in the foreground and middle-distance to give the richness and fullness of effect to the whole which he prized so highly.

There can be no doubt that Charles Turner's *Bridge in Middle-Distance* and *Dunstanborough Castle* were engraved soon after Lewis's *Bridge and Goats*, and in both these plates we find aquatint confined for the most part to the skies. And Turner's note on one of the engraver's proofs of *Dunstanborough Castle* shows clearly that he wished very decidedly that the aquatint should be confined to the sky, and that all the other parts of the plate should be engraved in mezzotint. But there was a technical difficulty in combining the two processes which made a certain amount of overlapping almost imperative. If one part of a plate is engraved entirely in aquatint and the adjacent parts entirely in mezzotint, the two surfaces yield such different results in the printing that they each look as though they had been printed with different coloured inks. Had Turner's wish been obeyed, that only the sky in *Dunstanborough* should be in aquatint, and that all the remainder of the subject, from the castle downwards, should be in mezzotint, the effect would have been most unsatisfactory. Charles Turner, who was a masterly engraver, must have been fully aware of this technical difficulty in combining the two mediums. He therefore carried his aquatint beyond the sky, over the castle, and the light part of the rocks below, with the evident intention of working his mezzotint over these parts so far as was necessary. But before he could do this he had to submit a proof of the plate to Turner, who seems to have jumped to the conclusion that his instructions to confine the aquatinting to the sky had not been obeyed. Hence the note in the margin of the proof to which I have referred: " Sir, You have done in aquatint all the Castle down to the rocks; Did I ever ask for such an indulgence? " The engraver's explanations must have pacified Turner. The plate was proceeded with and proved eminently successful. But in spite of all the engraver's skill and foresight the sky still seems to be printed with a slightly different coloured ink from the remainder of the plate.

Before leaving the subject of *Dunstanborough Castle* I may draw attention to the wholly unwarranted conclusions which have been drawn from Turner's note to the engraver from which I have just quoted. Turner's objection to the aquatint on the Castle and rocks has been taken to mean that he objected to the use of aquatint in the sky, and even to its use at all. But it is quite clear from the context that had Turner been less sparing of words than he habitually was, his note would have said: " Sir, I have asked you to do the sky of this subject in

aquatint, but you have also used it for all the Castle and part of the rocks. Did I ever ask for such an indulgence?" As it is, the absence of any reference to the sky shows clearly that Turner was satisfied with it, and if he had wished it to be in mezzotint, he certainly would not have been satisfied to have it in aquatint. Yet for want of a little attention to the circumstances in which Turner's words were used, this note has been generally accepted as proof that aquatint was used in this plate "without Turner's sanction."

Dunstanborough is certainly the best of the plates in which aquatint and mezzotint are combined by any of Turner's engravers. But Turner cannot have been entirely satisfied with it, as it is the last in which he permitted his engravers to combine the two mediums. He continued, however, to use this combination himself. The first published plate engraved entirely by himself—*Junction of the Severn and Wye* (28)—appeared in Part VI. In it the sky is engraved entirely in aquatint, the remainder being in mezzotint. Here the combination is entirely successful, probably because the two processes are separated from each other by a wide expanse of white paper.

I do not consider that the combination of the two processes is nearly so successful in the next three published plates engraved by Turner. In *Inverary Pier* (35), *Kirkstall* (39), and *Calm* (44) aquatint was used all over the plates in their early stages, and the two processes were combined in a rather haphazard and probably experimental way. Turner pulled them round in the end, but the result in each case seems to have been achieved only after a number of experiments and failures which would have baffled any engraver less dogged and resourceful than Turner. The finished plates, however, are among the most beautiful in the whole series.

There are at least three among the unpublished plates which were probably engraved at about the same time and in the same way. I allude to *Moonlight at Sea* (85), *Kingston Bank* (87), and *Flounder Fishing* (89). These were probably abandoned, not as hopeless, for Turner, I have no doubt, could have pulled even these round had he determined to do so, but the effort would have cost him more time and labour than the plates were worth.

After the publication of *Calm* (44) he seems to have had enough of aquatint. His last six published plates, *Mer de Glace* (50), *Calais Harbour* (55), *Berry Pomeroy* (58), *Arveron* (60), *Æsacus* (66), and *Interior of a Church* (70) are engraved entirely in mezzotint. They lose nothing by the change; and they wore much better than the plates in which the two mediums were combined.

But Turner continued to use aquatint in re-working some of the worn plates. The Sixth States of *Inverary Pier* and *Calm*, and the Fourth State of *Kirkstall* are re-worked largely in aquatint; but perhaps the major part of the re-working of the engravers' plates was done in mezzotint.

CHAPTER IX

STATES

THE "States" of an engraving indicate the various stages of its growth and decay.

In all engraving it is difficult, perhaps impossible, for an engraver to tell the exact result of his work until he has had an impression printed from the plate. The impressions taken from a plate in the course of its progress towards completion are generally called Engraver's Proofs, or Trial, or Working Proofs. When the plate is completed, the impressions taken from it are sometimes called the Published State, sometimes the First Published State, but more usually simply the First State. As soon as any alterations are made in the plate, those alterations constitute a fresh state. In the engravings with which we are now specially concerned such alterations were sometimes made in the lettering in the margins, or by the addition or removal of intentional marks in the margins, or by added work on the picture itself. These alterations are then classed in the order of their appearance as Second, Third, Fourth States, and so on.

It is not, however, always so easy to determine what is the First or Published State of a plate. Even in the case of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM such difficulties occur, and they are much more frequent in the case of many other engravings, particularly among the works of the earlier masters. These difficulties, and a very laudable desire for uniformity and order, have induced many cataloguers of engravings to adopt a system of nomenclature which ignores the distinction between Engraver's Proofs and completed states. According to this system the earliest working proof taken from a plate is called the First State, and all other stages towards completion, and from completion to decay, are arranged in numerical sequence. If this method were adopted, the completed state of some of the LIBER plates would be called the Ninth, or Tenth State, and the last state would be somewhere between the Fifteenth and Twentieth. The exact number of the completed states would depend upon the number of Engraver's Proofs which had been preserved and had come to the notice of the cataloguer.

The only obvious advantage of this system appears to be that it saves the cataloguer the trouble or responsibility of distinguishing the completed state of the engraving. For it is just as "scientific," and just as logical, to describe a sequence in one set of terms as in numbers, *e.g.*:

Engraver's Proof	(*a*)	or	First State
„	„ (*b*)	„	Second „
„	„ (*c*)	„	Third „
Completed or First State		„	Fourth „
Second „		„	Fifth „
Third „	etc.	„	Sixth „ etc.

Provided the users of the first set of terms realize that the Engraver's Proofs must

precede the completed state, it is just as clear to them that Engraver's Proof (*c*) comes before the First State, and that the First State follows immediately after the latest Engraver's Proof, as if the Engraver's Proof is termed the Third State and the completed state is called the Fourth. The only real difference between the two sets of terms is that the one is more descriptive, more informative than the other.

In addition, the purely numerical system is much less convenient to use than the more descriptive system. While it saves the cataloguer a great deal of trouble and responsibility, it throws all this trouble and responsibility upon the user of the catalogue, besides introducing a fresh element of confusion of its own. The discovery of a new state alters the numbers of all subsequent states, so that the completed state which to-day may be the Fourth in the numerical system, may to-morrow be the Fifth, and a month or two later may become the Seventh; and as fresh states will continue to be discovered so long as collectors and students give attention to the subject, the numerical position of the completed state will always be changing.

Now there can be no question that a system of nomenclature of the states which is grouped before and after the completed state is better adapted to the use and requirements of the collector than a purely numerical system in which the position of this state is constantly changing. For the completed state of a plate is that upon which the majority of collectors have their attention fixed. Whether they collect this state, or would collect it if they could, or whether they collect engraver's proofs, the completed state must always be fixed in their minds as a standard of comparison; it is also, I may add, the state by which the artist and engraver have decided to be judged.

For these reasons I have used in the present volume the system of nomenclature which calls the completed state the First, and treats it as a fixed point, grouping all the incomplete states before it as Engraver's Proofs, and all subsequent states after it, in numerical order. I believe that this system is best adapted to the requirements of collectors, students, and traders; and after all this is the system which they have used for considerably more than half a century.

Engraver's Proofs. The initial attraction of collectors and students towards engraver's proofs may probably be one of curiosity. It is interesting to watch an artist at work, to see him " lay in " the broad masses of his design, to watch him as he refines and animates these masses. In Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM plates the processes and details of artistic growth are recorded and laid bare in a way that is only possible in the medium of engraving, for in water-colour and in oils the antecedent stages are obliterated in the final result. The engraver's proofs of these plates have also an additional point of interest. The plates are always developments from, rather than reproductions of, the original drawings. The original drawings were merely the rough drafts of Turner's ideas. In the

engraver's proofs we see him at work modifying and amplifying his first draft, sacrificing details here, elaborating other passages, introducing new motives, and knitting the whole into closer organic unity. And as the notes scribbled on the margins of these proofs often explain to his engravers the reasons for the alterations, these proofs admit us into a surprising degree of intimacy with the working of Turner's mind.

But these proofs do more than gratify our curiosity as to the mode of working of a great artist's mind; they are frequently extremely beautiful things in themselves. The virginal freshness of the copper-plates gives these impressions bloom and vigour, and their very incompleteness stimulates and gratifies our imagination. This is particularly the case with Turner's own engravings, especially when he had got beyond his early period of experiment. Lovely as the completed state of *Berry Pomeroy* is, I have often felt that some of the engraver's proofs of this plate are lovelier still. The two similar proofs printed in black ink of the *Entrance of Calais Harbour*, and the first proofs of the centre design in the *Frontispiece*, are probably the most sensitive and exquisite examples of mezzotint engraving in existence. In the same way, many of the proofs of plates engraved by the professional engravers have a more potent imaginative appeal than the completed states; *Norham* and the *River Wye* are striking examples of this kind of attraction.

For these reasons engraver's proofs have always held a very high place in the estimation of all admirers of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM. They are the gems which every real collector covets.

FIRST STATES. The only distinction made by Turner in the publication of his plates was that between Proofs and Prints. Exactly what this distinction stood for in Turner's mind it is rather difficult to discover. The only certain point about it seems to have been that Proofs cost, at first, nearly double, and afterwards exactly double, the price of Prints. The Proofs were, therefore, supposed to be in some way better than the Prints. And no doubt they were. But as collectors found it hard to understand the working of Turner's mind in this respect, they soon abandoned his distinction of Proof and Print, and started classifying impressions in their own way; *i.e.*, according to their States.

The First State is generally considered the best, because it is printed from the plate when it is at its freshest. The first impressions taken from a completed plate have a vigour and a delicacy of gradation which become impaired after a certain number of impressions have been printed. The number of impressions which can be obtained from a plate before any very marked deterioration sets in varies to some extent with each plate. In the opinion of two of Turner's engravers and his printer, the LIBER STUDIORUM plates were only capable of producing between twenty to thirty fine impressions.

Generally speaking what we now call First States were doubtless issued as

Proofs. But not all Turner's Proofs were First States. In some cases—in *Minerva Medica* (or *Hindoo Worshipper*) and *Æsacus and Hesperie*, for instance—Turner became dissatisfied after a very few impressions had been taken with what he had intended to be the completed state of a plate. He then made alterations in the plate, and the impressions taken from the altered plate are now classed as Second States, on account of these alterations. But the early impressions of the altered plate were still issued and charged for as " Proofs "; and quite rightly, because the plate was still in fine condition. In both these cases Turner regarded the altered state as finer than the first, so it does not always follow that the First States are the best.

Some difficulties have been experienced in the past in separating these First States from the later engraver's proofs, which were often fully lettered, and which Turner often generously—or carelessly—issued to subscribers as ordinary " Proofs." But the devoted labours of collectors like the late Mr. J. E. Taylor, the late Mr. Henry Vaughan, and Mr. W. G. Rawlinson have overcome most of these difficulties. I believe it is only in two cases that I have considered it advisable to modify the arrangement adopted in the second edition of Mr. Rawlinson's catalogue, viz., in the *Water Mill* (37) and in *Kirkstall Crypt* (39).

Second and later States. Turner's plan of dividing his first issue of impressions into " Proofs " and " Prints " necessitated some method of distinguishing one from the other.

In the first three Parts (containing Nos. 2-16) the distinction was generally made by filling up or darkening the initial letter and title. In most cases no alteration was made in the picture itself, the impressions only differing from those in the First State by being weaker in the darks, lower in tone in the lights, with a general loss of subtle gradations of modelling. These differences were merely the results of wear in the mezzotinting, the friction used in cleaning the plate after each impression blunting the small raised particles of copper and overcoming the smoothness necessary for the high lights.

But in the Third States of these plates we find the initials and titles, which had been darkened, re-engraved in open letters, as they were in the First State. We also find that the plates are generally re-worked, the lights and darks being brought back to something like the full force of contrast of the first impressions. These alterations suggest the idea that Turner had found his original supply of " Proofs " insufficient for his requirements, and that he had adopted these measures to obtain a fresh supply. Pye states, though he gives no authority for the statement, that in the first four parts the lettering was altered after twenty impressions had been taken: " When some twenty proofs had been printed, the open letters were made black or otherwise so changed as to enable the collector to distinguish proofs from print impressions " (Pye and Roget, p. 67). Pye's statement is corroborated by the evidence referred to below (p. lxxxi), which shows

that the number of proofs originally subscribed for was twenty. We also know, from the evidence of his note-books, that some time after the publication of Part I the idea of increasing the number of his " Proofs " had been under consideration; and it is quite certain that there was no other way to get these additional " Proofs," except by re-working the plates and altering the lettering, as was done in these Third States. It therefore seems probable that the early impressions of what we now call Third States were often used by Turner as supplementary Proofs.

If this was done, we must regard Turner's " Proofs " as equivalent to our Firsts, some Seconds, and early Thirds, while his " Prints " would be equivalent to our Seconds, late Thirds, Fourths, etc.

Of the morality of supplementing " Proofs " in this way the modern print-dealing public has decided notions. Such notions were less clearly defined when the early numbers of Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM were published. It would be interesting to learn Turner's views on the subject. He probably regarded his re-worked Thirds as better impressions than the worn Seconds, and therefore as worth more money. Against priority of printing he probably set the value imparted by his additional work. There is a good deal to be said for such a line of defence; and I may point out that at the present day—when Turner's distinction between " Proofs " and " Prints " carries no weight whatever—the prices paid at auction for some re-worked Thirds are higher than those paid for Second States.

In Part IV and in all subsequent parts the Second and later states were generally distinguished from the Firsts by the addition of slight scratches or dots which were engraved on the margins of the plates. No uniform system of marks was adopted, and each plate has to be studied with minute care to determine the proper sequence of its impressions. The subject is further complicated by the fact that in several cases Turner inserted private marks by hand on the impressions, either in ink or in pencil, and that upon a certain number of impressions these marks have been erased with a knife. The general opinion that these erasures are the work of fraudulent collectors or dealers seems to be erroneous. A number of impressions with similar erasures are known never to have been out of Turner's possession. The erasures, too, are made so carelessly that there could have been no intention of deception on the part of the person who made them.

These marginal marks were no doubt inserted, and occasionally erased, to facilitate the business of arranging the impressions in parts and in sets of "Proofs" and " Prints," but I must confess that I find it impossible to unravel all the details of the business. The marks, however, are extremely useful as helps in the task of classifying the states in the order of their appearance.

Of far greater interest are the various alterations made by Turner in the engravings themselves. These alterations were generally made with the obvious intention of remedying the effects of wear on the plate, by restoring the balance

of its lights and darks. Turner was a master of what used to be called "the conduct" of a design. His technical skill was never at fault. A careful comparative study of all the states of each plate is almost as instructive and delightful as the study of the earlier engraver's proofs.

It is a mistake, I consider, for collectors to despise all late states. It would have defeated Turner's aim to publish worn-out impressions of his plates. When we consider the thoroughly worn-out impressions which were issued by contemporary publishers—of Earlom's "Liber Veritatis," for instance—I believe it is no exaggeration to say that Turner did not publish any very bad or poor impressions. The poorest impressions now in circulation were not published by Turner. They were put in circulation by his executors, with the sanction of the Court of Chancery, which overrode so disgracefully all the wishes of the great artist.

CHAPTER X

PAPER

THE paper on which the plates were printed has not hitherto received the attention it deserves.

Turner seems to have bought his own paper, and, being a thrifty person, he was careful not to buy more than was wanted for his immediate purposes. Hence we find that the paper used for what may be called the first edition of the later Parts was generally used for the later impressions of the earlier published plates when additional copies were required. This enables us to fix approximately the dates when the later impressions of the various plates were printed; and this information is often useful in determining the sequence of the various " states."

The first edition of Parts I, II, III, and IV, which include what are now called the First, Second, and, in some cases, Third States of Plates Nos. 2-21, was printed on fine Auvergne paper made by T. Dupuy. It was a handmade paper, ribbed, silky in texture, at once soft and tough. It was admirably adapted to the printing of mezzotints with etched lines. Turner probably chose the best paper for his purpose that could be found.

All this paper bore the maker's name, " T. Dupuy," in the watermark, together with " Auvergne 1742," and in some cases words descriptive of the size and quality of the paper, like " Fin " and " Lagrande." The date, 1742, which occurs after Auvergne, does not indicate the date when the paper was made, but refers to some decree of Colbert's which regulated the manufacture of Auvergne paper.

In addition to these marks of origin, etc., the paper also contained in the watermarks a device representing a dovecote or pigeon-house. This device, called by the French Les Pigeons, appears to have been used generally by the Auvergne paper-makers during the eighteenth century. Much ingenuity was displayed in varying the design while preserving the traditional features. Sufficient variation in the design was always made to enable it to serve as the mark of a particular season's production by a particular manufacturer.

There was an interval of just on two years between the publication of Part IV and the publication of Part V. During that time the war had either stopped the manufacture or the export to England of the fine Auvergne paper, and Turner had to fall back upon English-made paper. The first editions of Parts V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X were printed on wove paper bearing the names either of J. Whatman or H. Smith. Turner had from the commencement of the undertaking invariably used Whatman paper for the proofs of the etchings. It was harder than the French paper, which may have made it more suitable for the bistre

drawings which Turner often made over the proofs of the etchings. I do not think that any serious falling-off is noticeable in the impressions printed on English paper when compared with those on French paper. But Turner certainly had a preference for the French paper, as he used it for his engravings as long as it was obtainable, and returned to it immediately after the resumption of trade between the two countries. It is possible that the hardness of the English paper may have worn the copper more than the more pliant French paper.

With Parts XI and XII, which were published in 1816, we find the use of French laid paper resumed. The quality, however, was distinctly inferior to that used in the first four parts. It is coarser and it contains many impurities. The maker's name is now T. Richard. As he used the dovecote device it is possible that his mill was in Auvergne.

Most of the plates in Part XIII—Nos. 62-66—seem to have been prepared at the same time as those in the two previous parts. Richard's paper was used also for them. And it is only in the last published part, XIV, containing Nos. 67-71, that Turner was able to get back to Dupuy's paper. Like Richard's it is full of impurities and much coarser than that used for the earlier parts. It was, however, remarkably absorbent, and it enabled Turner's skilful printer, Lahee, to get a certain number of good impressions from the worn and, in some case, re-worked coppers.

I have been dealing thus far only with the first editions of the various parts; the paper on which the earlier impressions of each plate were printed. The later impressions are generally printed on paper which was used for the first editions of subsequently published plates. In this way the later impressions of Part I are printed on the paper used for the earlier states of Parts II, III, and IV; and the later states of these parts, as well as those of V-X, are printed either on Richard's paper, which was used for Parts XI, XII, and XIII, or on Dupuy's paper, which was used for the last part. The English wove paper used in 1811 and 1812 was also used for a few of the later impressions of the plates which had been previously published. That it was not done more extensively suggests that there was not much demand for the earlier parts during these years. The publication of Parts XI and XII, in 1816, seems, however, to have created a demand for further copies of the previously published parts; or at least to have created enough interest to induce Turner to think that further copies might be required.

After 1819 there seems to have been only one more printing from the published plates of LIBER STUDIORUM. A smooth wove paper was used for this, somewhat like Whatman paper, but without any watermark that I have been able to find, and without the substance of the Whatman paper used for the etchings and for Parts V-X. It has been repeatedly stated that these impressions

were printed by order of the executors, after Turner's death, before the sale in 1873, but I am informed on good authority that this is incorrect. The impressions on this paper are almost invariably poor in quality. The mezzotinting was so much worn that in some plates little more than the etched lines were shown. I am inclined to think that these impressions belong to the fifteen sets which M'Queen, the plate printer of 184 Tottenham Court Road, printed for Turner in June 1845 (*see* Note to p. 71, Pye and Roget, "Notes and Memoranda").

It is necessary to remember that the study of the watermarks of the paper used for the LIBER STUDIORUM is only in its initial stages. In this matter I have not had my path made easy by the enthusiastic labours of men like the late Mr. J. E. Taylor, Mr. W. G. Rawlinson, and Mr. A. A. Allen, who have made the study of other branches of this subject a pleasant and fascinating recreation to those who come after them. I confess I had no conception of the difficulties connected with the study of these watermarks until I had gone too far with it to think of giving it up. It seems quite an easy affair just to hold up a piece of paper to the light, to trace the watermark, and to tabulate the results. And this part of the job is easy. But the difficulties begin to accumulate when you find that about three-quarters of the impressions that you examine contain no watermarks, and that when they do appear, they are nearly always in fragments. I have never met with a complete Dovecote on any one of the impressions I have seen. Turner's sheets of paper when they were bought were, I imagine, of the Colombier size, $23\frac{1}{2} \times 34\frac{1}{2}$ inches. But before they were used these sheets were cut into four pieces, and the watermarks seem to have been placed just where the divisions would come. So the most I could ever find on one sheet was a good half of a dovecote, and too often there was only a much smaller fragment. After much patient labour I found myself with an accumulation of bits of Dovecotes, which seemed to cry out to be put together. But as the designs were often nearly similar in pattern and in size, it was far from easy to be sure that I was fitting the right top to the proper bottom. Without the wire-marks this would, in some cases, have been impossible; and even with their aid I am far from confident that all possibilities of error have been eliminated.

When I had got the chief Dovecotes completed I thought I might be able to trace their connection with the names of the makers, quality, and places of origin. Had this been done the classification of the papers used would have been much simplified; and possibly enough data would have been accumulated to enable us to classify with tolerable certainty the very large number of impressions —about three-quarters of the total, I imagine—which bear no watermarks at all, with the exception of the wire-marks.

I regret that I have not been able to go so far as this. But I hope I have done some useful spade-work, which those who come after me may bring to a more brilliant conclusion. The discovery of a full-sized sheet of each kind of

paper will certainly simplify and consolidate the information I have painfully pieced together.

I have endeavoured to present these results in a form which will be easily accessible in the following notes on the various watermarks.

Notes on Watermarks

Dovecote I

Used for the First Edition of Part I, and for Parts II, III, and IV.

I have found portions of this watermark on four of the five plates in Part I, viz., 2. *Bridge and Cows* I, 3. *Woman and Tambourine* I, 4. *French Coast* I, II, III, and 5. *Basle* I.

Also on 7. *Straw Yard* II, 12. *Pembury Mill* I, 15. *Lake of Thun* III, and 18. *Clyde* II.

Probably goes with Auvergne II and Dupuy II.

The lower part of the dovecote is somewhat similar to that of Dovecote VI, but the wire-marks differ.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{9}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote II

Used for the First Edition of Part I, and for Part IV.

I have found it in: 2. *Bridge and Cows* I and III, 4. *French Coast* I, and 6. *Jason* II.

It also occurs in: 18. *Clyde* II, 20. *Leader Sea Piece* I and II.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{6}{16}$-$1\frac{9}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote III

Used chiefly for First Edition of Parts II, III, and IV.

I have found it in: 7. *Straw Yard* I, 8. *Castle above Meadows* I and III, 9. *St. Gothard* I, 10. *Ships in a Breeze* I, 11. *Holy Island* I and II, 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* I, IV, and V, 15. *Lake of Thun* I, 16. *Fifth Plague* II, 17. *Farm Yard* I and II, and 19. *Little Devil's Bridge* II.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote IV

Used chiefly for First Edition of Parts II and III.

I have found it in: 7. *Straw Yard* I, 8. *Castle above Meadows* II and III, 9. *St. Gothard* II, 11. *Holy Island* II, 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* I, 14. *Dunstanborough Castle* I, and 16. *Fifth Plague* I.

It also occurs in 4. *French Coast* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote V

Used chiefly for First Edition of Parts II, III, and IV.

I have found it in: 7. *Straw Yard* II and III, 8. *Castle above Meadows* I, 9. *St. Gothard* II and III, 10. *Ships in a Breeze* I and II, 11. *Holy Island* I and II, 12. *Pembury Mill* I and IV, 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* I, 16. *Fifth Plague* I, and 20. *Leader Sea Piece* I.

It also occurs in: 2. *Bridge and Cows* III, and 5. *Basle* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{6}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote VI

Used chiefly for First Edition of Parts II, III, and IV.

I have found it in: 7. *Straw Yard* I and II, 8. *Castle above Meadows* I and II, 9. *St. Gothard* I and II, 10. *Ships in a Breeze* I, 11. *Holy Island* I and II, 12. *Pembury Mill* I and II, 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* II, 14. *Dunstanborough Castle* I and II, 15. *Lake of Thun* I and II, 16. *Fifth Plague* I and II, 17. *Farm Yard* I, 18. *Clyde* I, 19. *Little Devil's Bridge* I, 20. *Leader Sea Piece* I, and 21. *Morpeth* I and II.

It also occurs in 5. *Basle* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{6}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote VII

Used chiefly for First Edition of Part IV.

I have found it in: 17. *Farm Yard* I, 18. *Clyde* I and II, 19. *Little Devil's Bridge* I, and 20. *Leader Sea Piece* I.

It also occurs in 3. *Woman and Tambourine* I.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{9}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote VIII

Used for First Edition of Parts I, II, III, and IV.

I have found it in: 2. *Bridge and Cows* I, 3. *Woman and Tambourine* II, 4. *French Coast* II, 6. *Jason* I and II, 9. *St. Gothard* I, 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* I, 17. *Farm Yard* II, and 20. *Leader Sea Piece* I.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

These eight Dovecotes (I-VIII) were in use between 1807 and 1809. The paper was made by T. Dupuy, whose name also appears in the watermarks, together with "Auvergne 1742," "Fin," etc.; but as the sheets were cut into four portions for printing, the names, etc., never appear together with the dovecote in any one impression.

Dovecote IX

Used chiefly for First Editions of Parts XI and XIII, and for an Engraver's Proof for Part XIV.

I have found it in: 53. *Solitude* E.P., 56. *Dumblain* I, 64. *Bonneville* I, and 68. *Isis* E.P.

It was also used for Reprints of the earlier parts.

I have found it in: 6. *Jason* III, 10. *Ships in a Breeze* III, 28. *Junction of Severn and Wye* II.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{6}{16}$ in. apart.

Maker's name probably T. Richard.

Dovecote X

Used chiefly for First Edition of Part XIII.

I have found it in: 62. *Watercress Gatherers* I and II, 63. *Isleworth* III, 65. *Inverary Castle* I and III, and 66. *Æsacus* III.

It was also used for Reprints of the earlier parts.

I have found it in: 6. *Jason* III, 17. *Farm Yard* III, 32. *Young Anglers* III, 33. *St. Catherine's Hill* III, and 53. *Solitude* E.P.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{3}{16}$-$1\frac{4}{16}$ in. apart.

Maker's name probably T. Richard.

Dovecote XI

Used chiefly for First Editions of Parts XI, XII, and XIII.

I have found it in: 52. *Solway Moss* I, 53. *Solitude* I, II, and III, 54. *Mill near Grand Chartreuse* I, 55. *Calais Harbour* I, 56. *Dumblain* I, 57. *Norham Castle* I, 58. *Berry Pomeroy Castle* I, 59. *Ville de Thun* I and III, 60. *Arveron* I and III, 61. *Tenth Plague* I and III, and 64. *Bonneville* I and II.

It was also used for Reprints of the earlier parts.

I have found it in: 6. *Jason* IV, 7. *Straw Yard* III, 9. *St. Gothard* III, 12. *Pembury Mill* III, 19. *Little Devil's Bridge* III, 20. *Leader Sea Piece* II, 21. *Morpeth* II, 29. *Marine Dabblers* I, 32. *Young Anglers* III, 34. *Bexhill* III, 39. *Kirkstall* III, 41. *Procris* III, 42. *Winchelsea* III, 45. *Peat Bog* IV, and 46. *Rispah* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{7}{16}$ in. apart.

Maker's name, T. Richard.

Dovecote XII

Used chiefly with Dovecote XI for First Editions of Parts XI, XII, and XIII.

I have found it in: 52. *Solway Moss* I, II, and III, 53. *Solitude* I and II, 54. *Mill near Grand Chartreuse* I and III, 55. *Calais Harbour* I, 57. *Norham*

Castle I and III, 58. *Berry Pomeroy* I, 59. *Ville de Thun* I and III, 60. *Arveron* I and III, 61. *Tenth Plague* I and III, and 64. *Bonneville* I.

It was also used for Reprints of the earlier parts.

I have found it in: 7. *Straw Yard* III, 16. *Fifth Plague* III, 20. *Leader Sea Piece* III, 36. *Fairy Queen* III, 37. *Water Mill* III, 38. *Scene in Campagna* II, 39. *Kirkstall* III, 43. *Bridge and Goats* III, 44. *Calm* IV, and 46. *Rispah* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{7}{16}$ in. apart.

Maker's name, T. Richard.

Dovecote XIII

Used for First Editions of Parts XI and XII.

I have found it in: 6. *Dumblain* II and 58. *Berry Pomeroy* I.

It also occurs in 2. *Bridge and Cows* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{6}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote XIV

Apparently used only for Reprints.

I have found it in: 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* IV, 17. *Farm Yard* III, 24. *Coast of Yorkshire* IV, 35. *Inverary Pier* V, 42. *Winchelsea* III, 44. *Calm* VI, 45. *Peat Bog* V, 62. *Watercress Gatherers* III, and 66. *Æsacus* V.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{7}{16}$ in. apart.

Dovecote XV

Apparently used only for Reprints.

I have found it in: 12. *Pembury Mill* III, 29. *Marine Dabblers* I, 38. *Scene in Campagna* II, 41. *Procris* III, 67. *East Gate* IV, and 71. *Woman of Samaria* IV.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{7}{16}$ in. apart.

Other Dovecotes

In addition to the above (Nos. I-XV) there are others of which, up to the present, I have found only fragments.

Dupuy I

This is connected with Auvergne I. This is established by the conjunction of the two marks on an impression of 14. *Dunstanborough Castle* III.

I believe that each Dupuy had its own special form of Auvergne, but as I have not been able to establish in other cases the connexion between these two figures, it seems advisable to preserve the distinction.

I have found this figure in the following plates: 2. *Bridge and Cows* I and II, 3. *Woman and Tambourine* I and III, 4. *French Coast* I, 5. *Basle* I, 6. *Jason* I and II,

10. *Ships in a Breeze* I, 11. *Holy Island* II, 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* II, 14. *Dunstanborough* II and III, 15. *Lake of Thun* II, 17. *Farm Yard* II, 18. *Clyde* I and II, 20. *Leader Sea Piece* II, and 21. *Morpeth* I and II.

This does not occur after the First Edition of Part IV. It was, therefore, not in use after 1809.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{6}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy II

The connexion of this mark with Auvergne II is established by their conjunction on impressions of 6. *Jason* I and 17. *Farm Yard* I.

I have found this mark on the following: 2. *Bridge and Goats* I and II, 5. *Basle* II and III, 6. *Jason* I, 7. *Straw Yard* I, 8. *Castle above Meadows* I and II, 9. *St. Gothard* I and III, 10. *Ships in a Breeze* II, 11. *Holy Island* I and II, 13. *Bridge in Middle Distance* I and II, 14. *Dunstanborough* I, 15. *Lake of Thun* I and II, 16. *Fifth Plague* I, 17. *Farm Yard* I, 19. *Little Devil's Bridge* I and II, 20. *Leader Sea Piece* I, 21. *Morpeth* I, and 22. *Juvenile Tricks* E.P.

Only used for First Edition of Parts I-IV.

Not in use after 1809.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy III

Probably connected with Auvergne III.

I have only found this mark on the following: 2. *Bridge and Goats* I, 5. *Basle* I, 14. *Dunstanborough* I, 17. *Farm Yard* I, 20. *Leader Sea Piece* II, and 21. *Morpeth* II.

Not in use after 1809.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy IV

I have only found this mark on the following: 3. *Woman and Tambourine* II and 7. *Straw Yard* I.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy V

I have found this twice on 14. *Dunstanborough* II.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{6}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy VI

I have only found this on 7. *Straw Yard* II.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{6}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy VII

I have found this on the following: 3. *Woman and Tambourine* III, 11. *Holy Island* III, 12. *Pembury Mill* IV, 15. *Lake of Thun* II, and 18. *Clyde* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{6}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy VIII

Used chiefly for First Edition of Parts XIII and XIV, published 1819.

I have found it in: 62. *Watercress Gatherers* I and II, 63. *Isleworth* I, 67. *East Gate* I, 68. *Isis* I, 69. *Ben Arthur* I and II, 70. *Interior of a Church* II, and 71. *Woman of Samaria* I and II.

It also occurs in: 39. *Kirkstall* III, 52. *Solway Moss* III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{6}{16}$ in. apart. It will be noticed that in this case the letters run in the same direction as the wire-marks.

Dupuy IX

This does not occur in the First Edition of any of the plates.

I have found it in the following: 3. *Woman and Tambourine* IV, 5. *Basle* III, 7. *Straw Yard* III, 8. *Castle above Meadows* IV, 10. *Ships in a Breeze* IV, 18. *Clyde* III, 21. *Morpeth* III, 22. *Juvenile Tricks* III, 26. *London* III, 27. *Windmill and Lock* III, 28. *Junction of Severn and Wye* III, 31. *Lauffenbourgh* IV, 33. *St. Catherine's Hill* III, 34. *Bexhill* III, 35. *Inverary Pier* V, 36. *Fairy Queen* III, 37. *Water Mill* III, 44. *Calm* VI, 47. *Hedging and Ditching* IV, 50. *Mer de Glace* IV, 55. *Calais Harbour* VI, 56. *Dumblain* III, 64. *Bonneville* II, and 69. *Ben Arthur* III.

In the set bound in the original parts which Mr. A. A. Allen recently presented to the British Museum, nearly all the impressions seem to be on this paper, though the watermark appears only on about a quarter of them.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{7}{16}$ in. apart.

Dupuy X

Only used for Reprints.

I have found it in the following: 7. *Straw Yard* III, 16. *Fifth Plague* III, 18. *Clyde* III, 21. *Morpeth* III, 37. *Water Mill* III, 46. *Rispah* IV, 47. *Hedging and Ditching* IV, 49. *Chain of Alps* IV, 56. *Dumblain* III, and 68. *Isis* IV.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{6}{16}$ in. apart.

Auvergne I

Connected with Dupuy I, *q.v.*

Auvergne II

Connected with Dupuy II, *q.v.*

Auvergne III

I have found it in the following: 3. *Woman and Tambourine* I and II, 4. *French Coast* II, 5. *Basle* II, 14. *Dunstanborough* I, and 20. *Leader Sea Piece* I.

Probably connected with Dupuy III, *q.v.*

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Auvergne IV

Occurs in the following: 8. *Castle above Meadows* II, 9. *St. Gothard* III, 12. *Pembury Mill* I and III.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

Auvergne V

Occurs in: 3. *Woman and Tambourine* II, 6. *Jason* II.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{9}{16}$ in. apart.

T. Richard (a)

Used for First Edition of Parts XI, XII, and XIII.

It occurs in: 52. *Solway Moss* I, 54. *Grand Chartreuse* I, 55. *Calais Harbour* I, III, and IV, 56. *Dumblain* I, 58. *Berry Pomeroy* I, II, and III, 59. *Ville de Thun* I, 60. *Arveron* I and III, 61. *Tenth Plague* I and II, 62. *Watercress Gatherers* I, and 64. *Bonneville* II.

It was also used for Reprints of some earlier parts. I have found it in: 5. *Basle* III, 9. *St. Gothard* III and IV, 11. *Holy Island* III, 14. *Dunstanborough* III, 15. *Lake of Thun* III, 16. *Fifth Plague* III, 17. *Farm Yard* III, and 35. *Inverary Pier* V.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{3}{8}$-$\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart.

T. Richard (b)

Used for First Edition of plates in Parts XI, XII, and XIII.

It occurs in: 53. *Solitude* I and III, 54. *Grand Chartreuse* I, 55. *Calais Harbour* III, IV, and VI, 56. *Dumblain* I and II, 57. *Norham* E.P. and III, 58. *Berry Pomeroy* II, 59. *Ville de Thun* I, 61. *Tenth Plague* I, 63. *Isleworth* E.P., and 64. *Bonneville* II.

It was also used for Reprints of some of the earlier plates. It occurs in: 4. *French Coast* III, 24. *Coast of Yorkshire* III, 33. *St. Catherine's Hill* III, 41. *Procris* III, 46. *Rispah* III, and 48. *River Wye* IV.

Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{7}{16}$ in. apart.

J. Whatman

Wove paper, of substantial quality, used for First Edition of Parts V-X, published January 1811 to February 1812.

I have seen Whatman's name in the paper of all the plates in these parts, except in 27. *Windmill and Lock*, 28. *Junction of Severn and Wye*, 32. *Young Anglers*, 42. *Winchelsea*, 46. *Rispah*, and 49. *Chain of Alps*.

Used also for Reprints of plates in Part I. I have seen it in: 2. *Bridge and Cows* III, 3. *Woman and Tambourine* III, 4. *French Coast* III, 5. *Basle* III, and 6. *Jason* III.

The dates in the watermarks range from 1806 to 1810.

H. Smith

Wove paper, of similar quality to that of J. Whatman. Used with Whatman paper for First Edition of Parts V -X.

I have seen Smith's name or part of it on the following: 22. *Juvenile Tricks* I, 27. *Windmill and Lock* I and II, 31. *Lauffenbourgh* I, 32. *Young Anglers* I and II, 35. *Inverary Pier* I and IV, 36. *Fairy Queen* III, 40. *Mildmay Sea Piece* I, 45. *Peat Bog* I, and 46. *Rispah* I.

It may possibly have been used for Reprints of earlier plates, but I have not met with any examples.

The dates in the watermarks include 1802, 1806, 1808, and 1811.

Other Watermarks

In addition to the above there are a few other marks which occur only infrequently.

1. A Rosary. Only found in 53. *Solitude* III. Wire-marks, $1\frac{5}{16}$-$1\frac{6}{16}$ in. across.

2. Apparently part of the outstretched wings of an Imperial Eagle. 2. *Bridge and Cows*, Engraver's Proof (B.M., Vaughan Bequest). Wire-marks, $1\frac{7}{16}$-$1\frac{8}{16}$ in. apart.

3. Capital F and D, with small triangle between them. Letters are $\frac{7}{8}$ in. high. Occurs in 7. *Straw Yard* III in the set in original parts presented by Mr. A. A. Allen to the British Museum.

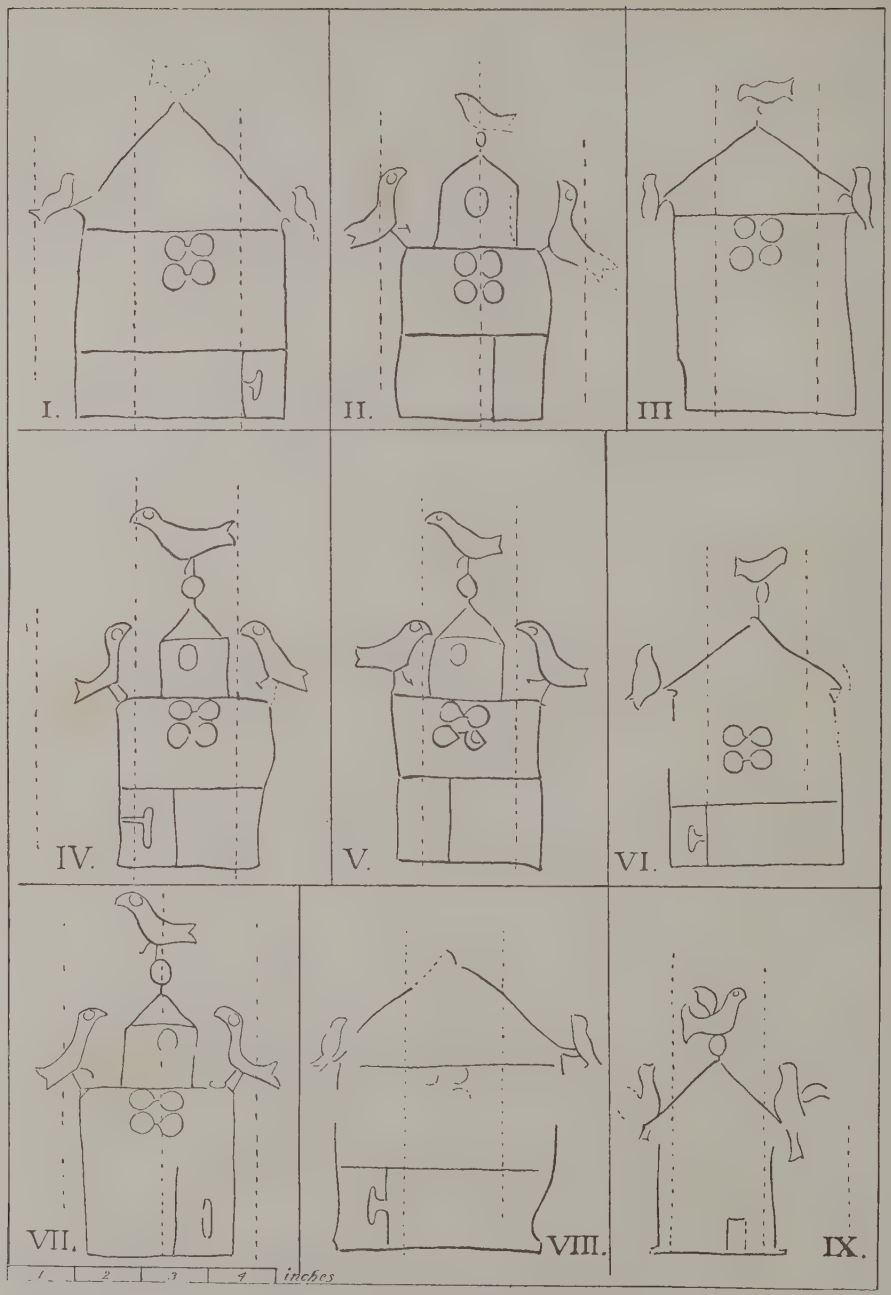


FIGURE I. TRACINGS OF WATERMARKS

Dovecotes I-IX

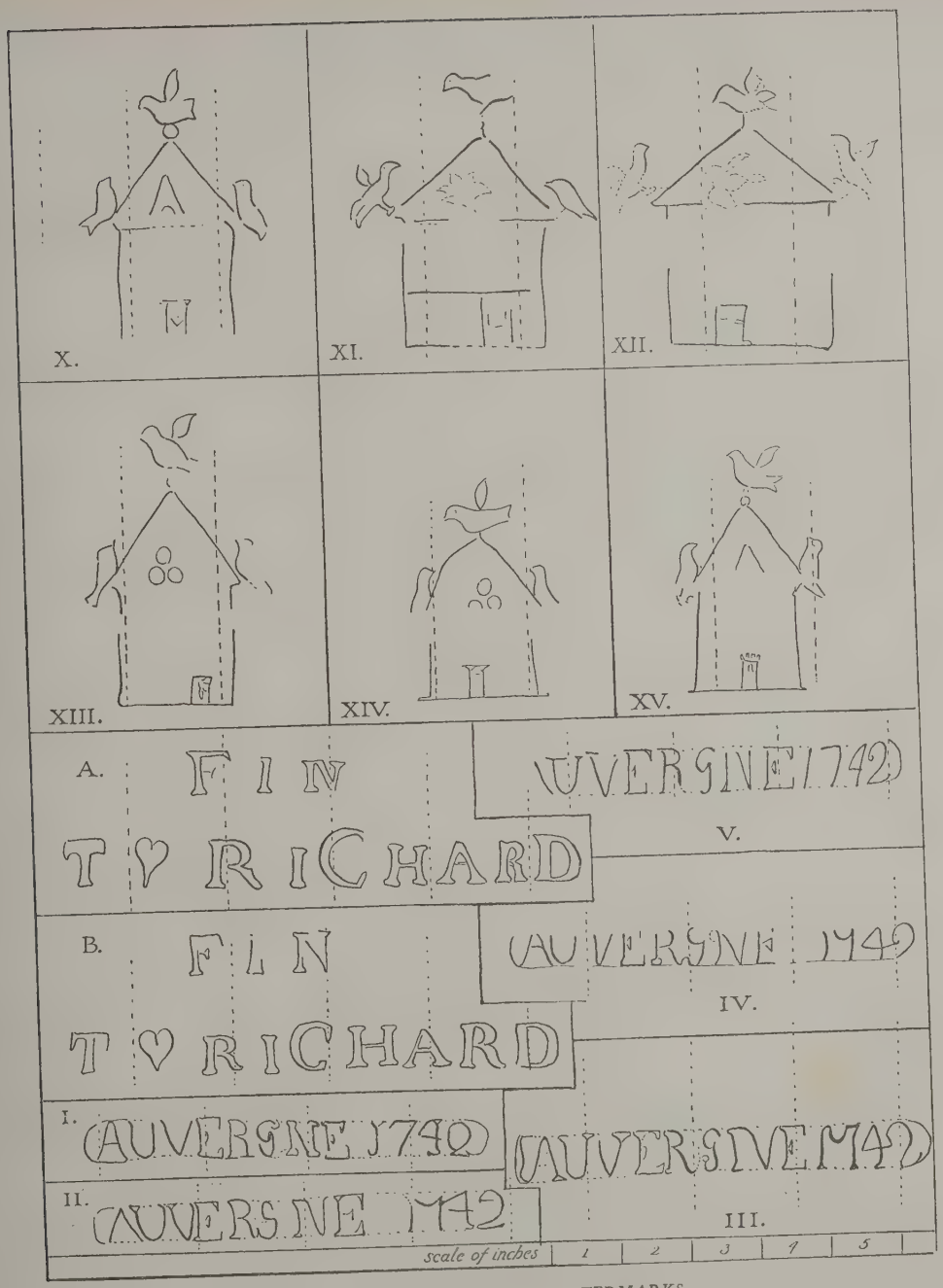


FIGURE II. TRACINGS OF WATERMARKS

Dovecotes X-XV. T. Richard (a), (b). Auvergne I-V

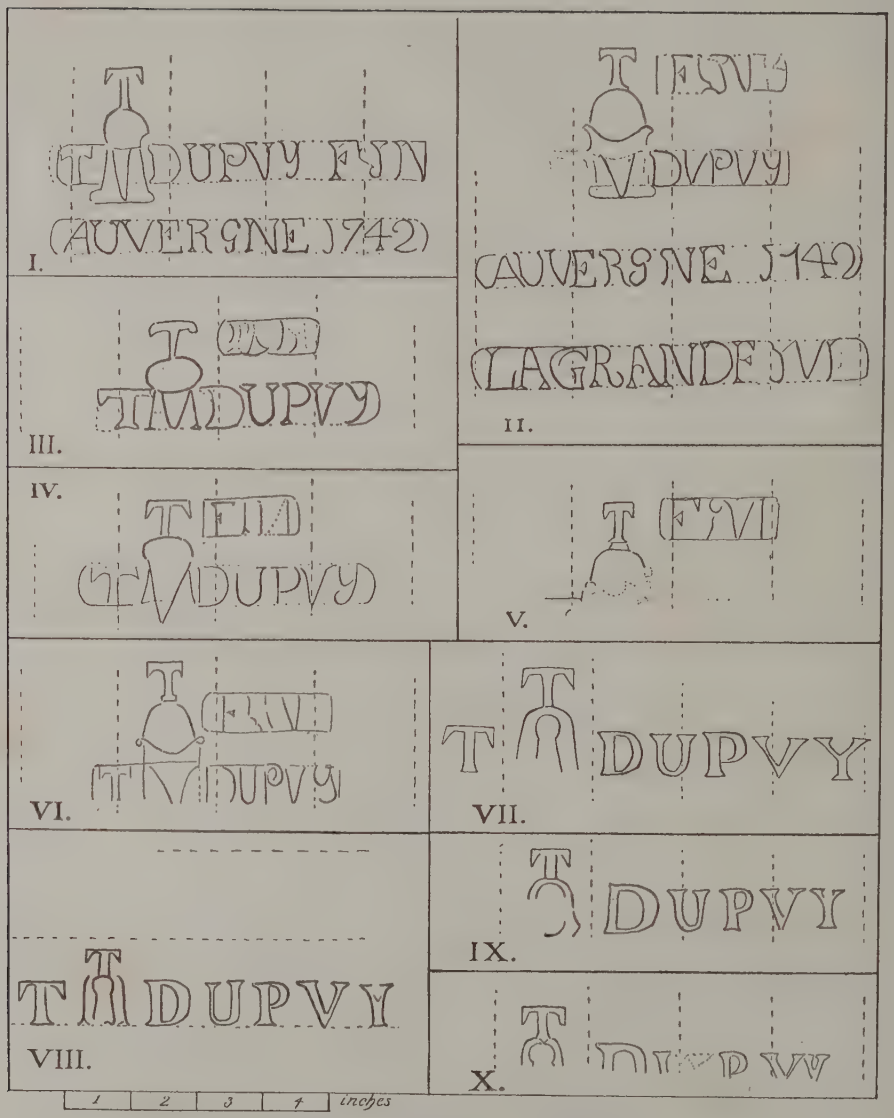


FIGURE III. TRACINGS OF WATERMARKS
T. Dupuy I-X

CHAPTER XI

THE NUMBER OF IMPRESSIONS PRINTED

THIS subject, to which the modern collector attaches great and perhaps undue importance, seems to have had no interest for Turner's contemporaries. Early collectors of LIBER STUDIORUM, like Pye, could easily have ascertained from Lahee, Turner's printer, the approximate number of impressions which he had printed. But apparently they did not trouble to make inquiries, or if they did they were unsuccessful, for they have left no record of the information we are seeking. Later investigators seem to have regarded the problem as insoluble.

But though we cannot hope to answer this question with the certainty and precision we should desire, I believe some discussion of the subject will be welcome. As is well known Turner acted as his own publisher for LIBER STUDIORUM, though he employed an agent for three numbers. All impressions which are now in existence were printed by his orders and were once in his possession. The plates also were in his possession till his death, and they were destroyed by his executors before the sale of his stock of engravings in March 1873.

The first question we have to consider is therefore: What is the number of impressions Turner would be likely to consider he could dispose of?

The data for answering this question has been gleaned from the unpublished memoranda in two of Turner's sketch books which were in use between the early part of 1809 and the latter part of 1810; one is called the "Hastings" Sketch Book, No. CXI, in my Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest, the other is called the "Finance" Sketch Book, No. CXXII. In both of these books, in addition to the drawings, we find a number of memoranda and calculations relating to Turner's financial affairs.

The calculations in the "Hastings" Sketch Book show that Turner was not satisfied with the profit he had then made on the sales of the first four parts, and that he was considering the advisability of increasing the selling prices. It is not always possible to follow the working of Turner's mind from the hastily scribbled figures, but the following details are clearly revealed:

(1) The number of copies subscribed for was 120, consisting of 100 Prints and 20 Proofs (pp. 96a and 97a).

(2) The expenses of one number amounted to £61 1*s.* 6*d.* (p. 97a).

(3) He had printed 40 Proofs, although he had sold only 20 (p. 96a).

(4) He proposed raising the price of Proofs to £2 2*s.* a part (p. 96a).

These memoranda were made apparently soon after the printing or publication of Part IV; *i.e.*, early in 1809.

The notes in the "Finance" Sketch Book were made, I believe, between August and December 1810. This book was actually a pocket-book, though it has

been called a sketch book because it contained a few drawings. Within its covers are preserved some documents relating to purchases and sales of Stock on Turner's behalf by a William Marsh, Stockbroker, of 5 Sweeting's Alley. On the back of one of these papers Turner has reckoned up the totals of his holdings in Reduced Three Per Cents., Consols, and Five Per Cents.. The total comes to something over £7000. He then proceeded to reckon up roughly what other property he possessed. After putting down £1300 for "Odds and Ends," he jots down £500 as the value of the "Drawings for Liber Stu"; he then remembers that Sir John Leicester owed him £400, Mr. Walter Fawkes £1000, and Mr. Fuller £200. After reckoning the value of some land he had bought, and £50 invested in the Atlas Insurance Company, he puts down £2000 as "Probable Advantage of Liber Studiorum." This is evidently thought of as a set-off against a probable loss of £1000—possibly a bad debt—and £1700 which he was apparently thinking of spending on his gallery and on his house at Twickenham.

This estimate of a probable profit of £2000 was made about eighteen months after Turner had been considering the advisability of increasing the prices of the parts. He had found that at the original prices of 25*s.* for Proofs and 15*s.* for Prints his receipts for each part came only to £100; with expenses at £60 this only gave him a profit of £40. Such a return for the immense amount of energy, skill, and time he was devoting to the work was obviously insufficient. It was even less than his engravers were receiving for their share of the work. He seems, therefore, to have resolved to raise the selling prices of the parts; these prices we know were afterwards raised to 25*s.* for Prints and £2 2*s.* for Proofs, though the exact date when the change was made is not known.

At these enhanced prices, supposing his subscription list remained at 120, his receipts for each part would be £167. As his expenses were about £60, this gave him a profit of about £100. And as there were to be twenty parts in all, he would be justified in reckoning the probable advantage of the whole work at £2000.

This calculation leaves out, however, the detail that the subscribers had received at least four parts at the lower prices. But Turner might reasonably expect to sell other copies than those immediately subscribed for. As we have seen he had printed twenty more proofs than he had sold, and he had possibly as many more prints in hand. Sales from these unsold copies might quite reasonably be reckoned on, and their proceeds would balance the loss incurred by the lower selling prices of the earlier parts.

We are now able to give a provisional answer to the question propounded above. The number of impressions of each plate Turner would be likely to consider he could dispose of was, at the end of 1810, certainly 140, and possibly 160.

The next question we have to consider is whether Turner's expectations were realized?

The chief piece of evidence on this point is derived from the catalogue of the Turner Sale in March 1873. In this sale were included all the impressions of LIBER STUDIORUM which were in Turner's possession when he died. The sale catalogue gives us fairly complete information of the number of these unsold impressions, though it tells us little about the distinction Turner had made between prints and proofs. The total is about 5020, which represents roughly seventy sets of the fourteen published parts.

Now if Turner had printed 160 copies and had 70 left unsold, he could only have sold 90 copies; if he had printed 140, he could only have sold 70. In either case he must have sold less than he had expected. This is one alternative we have to consider.

On the other hand he may have printed more copies than at first he had considered would be sufficient.

There are grounds for believing that Turner had done this. In the first place there is the statement of McQueen, the plate printer, that he printed for Turner fifteen sets of LIBER STUDIORUM in June 1845 (Pye and Roget's "Memoranda," p. 71, *note*). And in the second place, there is the evidence of the paper on which some of the later states are printed. The watermarks of this paper show that it belonged to the stock used only for the first editions of the last four parts, which were published between 1816 and 1819. The reprints of the earlier parts for which this paper was used must therefore have been printed from six to nine years after Turner had decided that he would want 140 to 160 copies. And if Turner had thought in 1810 that he could sell 140 to 160 copies, I assume that he would have had that number printed at the time. The watermarks support this assumption, for the majority of the early impressions of Parts I-IV are printed on paper which was only used before 1809; and the early impressions of Parts V-X are all on paper only used before May 1812.

These reasons are sufficient, I think, to justify the assumption that Turner did print more copies than at first he had considered he could sell. But we do not know the number of the reprints made on the T. Richard and late Dupuy paper. We can only estimate it. As the reprints made in 1845 numbered fifteen sets, we may assume that the earlier set of reprints consisted of the same number. In that case we must reckon that thirty additional sets were printed.

This evidence is probably sufficient to dispose of the alternative assumption referred to above, that Turner's sales averaged only seventy or ninety sets. They more probably amounted to 100 or 120.

I will not weary my readers with further calculations. I will merely state the conclusions which seem to me to harmonize best with all the data at present at our command. I consider that the total number of impressions printed of the published plates was not less than 170 sets, and not more than 200. And on the whole I am inclined to regard the lower figure, 170, as probably more accurate than the higher.

CHAPTER XII

WHY THE WORK WAS NOT COMPLETED

THE generally accepted reason for the abandonment of the work before the promised number of plates had been published is its want of financial success. To me this reason is not at all convincing. If the work was a financial failure, or if the financial results were sufficiently unsatisfactory to induce Turner to abandon it, it would not have taken him over fifteen years to realize the fact. But I think we do Turner an injustice if we regard the financial side of the work as though it were the only, or even the chief, consideration. Had his most sanguine expectations of making money by the publication been realized, he would only have earned £20 from each plate, and he continued the work long after it had become quite evident that his earnings from this source were not likely to reach even that modest sum. When we consider the large prices he obtained for his oil paintings and water-colours, it becomes evident that the time and trouble he lavished upon his LIBER STUDIORUM could not have been given solely from mercenary motives. Indeed, all the known facts corroborate the account of Turner's motives in starting the work given by Mrs. Wheeler: it was to make his reputation safe with posterity.

But if the work was not abandoned for financial reasons, we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the stoppage of a work to which Turner certainly attached considerable importance, and which, in spite of extraordinary difficulties, he had brought so near completion.

Our first care must be to find out as nearly as possible the date when the work was abandoned. The advertisement issued in 1816, in one of the parts of the "Southern Coast," shows that at that time Turner fully intended to proceed with and complete the publication. Parts XIII and XIV were issued in January 1819. They were the last parts to be published. But after his return from his first Italian tour, in the beginning of 1820, he still persevered with the work. The etching of *Stork and Aqueduct* is printed on Whatman paper which bears the date in the watermark of 1822, which proves that the etching itself must have been done at this date or afterwards. And on the latest proof of Charles Turner's engraving of *Windsor Castle from Salt Hill* Turner has written: "Last impression Feb. 1823." I can find no evidence of a later date than this to show that he took any further steps to complete the work.

I conclude, therefore, that it was in 1823, or soon after, that Turner abandoned work on his LIBER STUDIORUM.

This date is significant, for it was in 1823 that a new medium for mezzotint engraving was introduced, and a new serial publication to exploit the new medium was projected with Turner as its central figure. The new medium was steel, which being harder than copper would last longer and permit a larger edition to be printed. The new publication was "The Rivers of England,"

which was to be published by W. B. Cooke as a companion to the "Southern Coast of England." Thirty-six plates were projected, but only twenty-one appeared, between 1823 and 1827, including sixteen after Turner, four after Girtin, and one after W. Collins.

The harder metal used for these mezzotints enabled the engravers to produce quite different effects from those obtainable from copper plates. It enabled them to lighten the key in which they worked, and to model the lights with greater subtlety and delicacy. In the advertisement of the new series the publisher drew attention to the new medium which was to be employed, and pointed out that it was peculiarly adapted to the effects of twilight, sunrise, midday, and sunset in which Turner excelled. That Turner was deeply interested in the new medium is proved by the fact that he began engraving a number of subjects upon it. These plates were never published, nor, indeed, finished. They are known as "The so-called 'Sequels to the Liber Studiorum.'" They are of little artistic importance, but they show how keenly interested Turner was in the new medium.

Three of the engravers Turner had employed for his LIBER STUDIORUM were set to work on the new plates, viz., Charles Turner, Thomas Lupton, and W. Say. There can be no doubt that the new medium was admirably adapted to the reproduction of the drawings Turner was producing after his first visit to Italy. And these drawings, we must remember, were very different from the drawings he was producing in the early LIBER STUDIORUM days. If we take one of the "Rivers of England" engravings, say, the lovely *Kirkstall Abbey*, and set it beside, say, the *Norham Castle* or *Dumblain Abbey* of the LIBER STUDIORUM, the change that had come over Turner's art is quite as evident as if we had compared any two of the water-colours or oil paintings of the respective periods. In the works of his earlier period there is a certain sternness, gloom, and strength which gives place, in the later period, to a brighter, a more cheerful, and a more affectionate frame of mind. This change of feeling is expressed by changes in the tonality, the colour, and the execution of his drawings and paintings. In an engraving like *Kirkstall Abbey*, in the "Rivers of England" series, these technical changes are rendered in a surprisingly successful way. I need only refer to one detail. In the exquisitely coloured drawings of this period Turner was fond of using black as a positive colour. In the *Kirkstall Abbey* engraving the vivid black patch of a cow's head and body near the foreground sets the whole scene, as it were, choiring in harmony. There is nothing of this kind in any of the plates of the LIBER STUDIORUM, where local colour is almost entirely ignored.

The more carefully we study and compare the "Rivers of England" plates with those of the LIBER STUDIORUM, the more plainly do we see that by 1823 Turner had outgrown that stage of his art to which it gives such authoritative expression. The new spirit could not move freely in the old forms. The *Kirkstall Abbey*, *Brougham Castle*, *Arundel Castle*, and *Stangate Creek* of the "Rivers of England" could not be bound up with the LIBER STUDIORUM without destroying

its pervading unity of thought, feeling, and execution. Even in some of the unpublished LIBER plates this discrepancy is beginning to make itself felt; *Crowhurst*, for instance, belongs rather to the "Rivers of England" period than to that of *The Straw Yard*, *The Water Mill*, or even of *Solway Moss*.

In the LIBER STUDIORUM Turner worked in the classical spirit of engraving; local colour was almost entirely ignored, and the whole design was wrought in terms of light and shade. After about 1820 he began to express himself and to think in terms of colour. He was too sincere, and he had too much confidence in his genius, to doubt or palter with his new inspiration. He threw himself whole-heartedly into the new-born life, the new discovery. He could only go forward; he had no inducement to linger in, or attempt to prolong, the past. He had begun to revolutionize landscape-painting; it was inevitable that he should do his utmost to revolutionize landscape-engraving. The process had already begun in the line-engravings of the "Southern Coast," Hakewill's "Tour in Italy," and the "History of Richmondshire." In the "Rivers of England" he merely brought mezzotint-engraving into line with the same movement.

In this way, I imagine, Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM came to its end, as naturally, and as inevitably, as it had come into existence. Nor can I see any reason for regret that the original intention of publishing a hundred plates had not been carried out. Turner had done enough before it was stopped to answer all the purposes for which it was started. The LIBER STUDIORUM as it now stands has made Turner's reputation safe with posterity. It contains a series of noble landscape engravings in the traditional manner which, by themselves, are sufficient to sustain his reputation when all his oil paintings and water-colours shall have perished. The work of its production had given him that thorough academic training which no modern academies can give. The practice of etching and engraving had developed his marvellous precision of hand and strengthened his mastery of light and shade and tone. These qualities were invaluable to him in his subsequent work, for without them the daring innovations successfully attempted in his later work would have been impossible.

The LIBER STUDIORUM had also enlarged the scope of his appeal. Before it was begun engraving had stood out against him as a useful, but not too friendly, power. By the time the enterprise was abandoned he must have felt that engraving in all its forms was a very docile, very friendly, and extremely useful servant. The time, labour, and thought lavished upon the work had taught him how to dominate and use his engravers. It had made him not only a master of mezzotint, but it had, as it were, enlarged his forms of expression. He could henceforward think and feel just as freely in the various forms of engraving as in oil paint and water-colour. The marvellous series of line-engravings produced later under his inspiration were rendered possible only by the labour he had expended on the supervision and production of the LIBER STUDIORUM. And there can be no doubt

that line-engraving, as vivified and transformed by his initiative, responded more adequately to the requirements of his maturity than mezzotint; it responded better to his demands for lightness of key, for subtle brilliancies of tone, for the rendering and suggesting of colour.

The manner in which the enterprise was dropped was characteristic of the man. To me, I must confess, it seems entirely in the grand manner. He had in his possession at the time ten or more completely engraved plates. He had lavished his own time on the designs, on engraving some of the plates with his own hand, and on superintending the engravings which had been done by others; and he had certainly had to pay the engravers for their work. He could easily, with very little added trouble, have published at least two more parts of the work. Had he resembled in any way the grotesque figure which Thornbury's muddy imagination has conjured up, this is what he would assuredly have done. As it was, he chose to leave the plates unprinted, and to keep the few engraver's proofs which had been taken in his own possession. I often wonder whether he ever thought of these plates and proofs as the years went by. When he did think of them, which I imagine was but seldom, he must have known that the very rarity of these proofs would make them doubly precious to the collectors of the future.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

I AM told that LIBER STUDIORUM is not Latin of the best period; that it belongs rather to the eighteenth century than to the age of Tully; but its meaning to Turner was quite clear and definite. LIBER STUDIORUM meant to Turner his Book of Studies. And that is literally and exactly what he meant his publication to be, and what he made it. Each plate is a study for a picture; not a sketchy, vague suggestion for a picture, but a hard, uncompromising study, worked out with intense love of the rigour of the game. All the difficulties of picture-making are faced and overcome; all the attractions—to weaker and lower natures—are dismissed. No colour is admitted, no pigment, not even the delight of a good workman in the use of his material and the joys of execution; for according to the original plan the designs were to be engraved by others. Turner's part was with the severer, more abstract, more intellectual factors of his art—the conception of the whole, the invention, planning, and placing of the parts; or to put it briefly, the designing. So keen was he on the rigour of the discipline that he would not have done even the etching if he could have got his engravers to do it for him, and I believe he only took up mezzotinting himself the better to teach and supervise the work of his engravers.

I doubt whether it is generally recognized that the chief joy in life to a great artist is the pleasure he gets in doing his work—not in thinking or dreaming about it, or in being praised or paid for it. It is certain that Turner got intense pleasure from these technical exercises from his Book of Studies; and this joy of his in their creation probably accounts for the compelling attraction which these plates exert over many people.

At first sight it may seem strange that such technical exercises should form a constant lure to the imaginative interpreter. Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM, like Shakespeare's sonnets, has provoked a whole literature of commentary. But on second thoughts this is not surprising. Exercises in the art of picture-making and of poetry are after all exercises in the art of expression, and with Shakespeare and with Turner these exercises were the work of men with a natural gift of expression in the mediums they used and loved. That their work should be compact of meaning is what we ought to expect. Their technical exercises could only differ from their ordinary work in being more thoroughly and more fully wrought as expression.

Yet when we search the by no means inconsiderable mass of literature which Turner's LIBER STUDIORUM has called forth for a clear statement of its essential qualities, we are much more likely to find ourselves bewildered than satisfied. On the one hand, we find these designs praised for the accuracy with which they reproduce Nature—for their " pure portraiture " of scenes and natural objects; on the other hand, as magnificent examples of the traditional principles of com-

position. I do not propose to take sides with any of the combatants, but I will endeavour to indicate a point of view from which something of value may be obtained from both sides.

It would be misleading to suggest that the subject is either simple or easy. As an introduction to the difficulties into which it plunges us I will ask the reader to glance at a few of the conclusions which one of the most eminent of recent writers on this subject has offered us. Sir Walter Armstrong had no doubt felt dissatisfied with Mr. Ruskin's argument that Turner was the greatest landscape painter that had ever lived because he reproduced a greater number of the facts of external nature than any of his rivals. Sir Walter objects that the test is unfair, and, accepting all Mr. Ruskin's contentions, he argues that Turner can only be regarded as an artist of secondary importance. The plates of LIBER, he says, " are superb, as representations " (" Turner," p. 73); they show " an extraordinary grip on the constituents of natural beauty " (p. 78). But this only proves, he argues, that we must regard Turner as a mere imitator of " free and pre-existing beauty "; he is not, like the great artists, a creator in his own right. His art is one of " imitation, reproduction, illustration, selection, everything which involves the supremacy of the object and the humble obedience of the artist " (p. 213).

This distinction between " created and represented beauty," the beauty of Art and the beauty of Nature, is one that is frequently used at the present time, and it has the advantage of seeming a clear-cut and well-marked distinction. But if we examine the use which Sir Walter Armstrong made of it, we find that he can only sustain his argument by crediting physical nature with all the intellectual and emotional qualities which he finds in Turner's designs. One example will be sufficient for my purpose, though I could give many. " Finer than the *Raglan*," he writes, " more intense in its passion, and closer in its unity, is the somewhat similar *Procris and Cephalus*. To me this seems the most consummate of all the LIBER designs. Here again we have a company of trees, as individual and yet as eager in collaboration as ladies in a minuet. The pattern made by their stems is perfect in its rhythm, while they bend round and over the tragic focus with exactly the right amount of elemental sympathy. Nothing is forced, but no chance of expression is missed, and the longer we look the more profound does the painter's insight into the mood of Nature appear " (p. 75). If this is an example of what the eminent Scotch critic regards as the art of " imitation, reproduction, etc.," we can only marvel at the want of accuracy in his use of words. The sympathy and passion with which Turner interprets the old myth of Procris and Cephalus, the infinite artistic skill with which he invents the landscape background as a medium of expression, the pattern and rhythm made by his trees, are all, apparently, merely part of the mood of Nature, which he had seen somewhere in the country, and had just reproduced!

On the other hand, Ruskin does recognize the difficulty of distinguishing

between art and nature. In the second volume of "Modern Painters" he remarks that "imaginative work" always looks "as if it had been gathered straight from nature." The landscape of Titian's "St. Jerome," for instance, he says, "may, for aught I know, be a pure transcript of a rocky slope covered with chestnuts among his native mountains. It has all the look of a sketch from nature; if it be not, the imagination developed in it is of the highest order. . . . Again, it is impossible to tell whether the two nearest trunks of the *Æsacus and Hesperie* of the LIBER STUDIORUM, especially the large one on the right with the ivy, have been invented, or taken straight from nature, they have all the look of accurate portraiture. I can hardly imagine anything so perfect to have been obtained except from the real thing; but we know that the imagination must have begun to operate somewhere, we cannot tell where, since the multitudinous harmonies of the rest of the picture could hardly in any real scene have continued so inviolately sweet."

These admissions are the more valuable because they tell with such relentless force against the whole of Mr. Ruskin's doctrine in favour of the "pure portraiture" of nature, and his vehement denunciation of all "taint of composition," or invention in art. It is evident, I think, that both Mr. Ruskin and Sir Walter Armstrong felt very much the same about Turner's design; it took possession of their imagination, it spoke to them both with the authority, the simplicity, the inevitableness of a work of nature. This is therefore a reproduction of pre-existing beauty, it is not creative art at all, declared Sir Walter Armstrong. But Ruskin paused to reflect. "I can hardly imagine anything so perfect to have been obtained except from the real thing; but we know that the imagination must have begun to operate somewhere." It is passages like this, where the sincerity of the writer peeps out, that awaken the affectionate admiration of many of Ruskin's readers, who hate his "purple patches" and see clearly the weakness and inconsistency of his theories.

The tide of fashion in these matters has now changed; instead of rhapsodizing over the beauties of nature, it is now customary to rhapsodize over the beauties of art. But this is merely setting up one absurdity to counteract another, unless we are prepared to force our way to a point of view where the inadequacy of these distinctions stands revealed.

It is profoundly true, as Mr. Ruskin says, that in every work of art "we know that the imagination must have begun to operate somewhere." The mistake he made was that he would not allow it to begin soon enough. No work, even of pictorial art, can be a mere copy of an external reality. "Pure portraiture," as distinguished from the "taint of composition," is as much a theoretical fiction as the "pure sensation" as opposed to "the action of the mind," which has, since Locke's time, played such havoc with English thought. We must recognize that the action of thought exists even in our simplest sense-experience. Art, therefore, cannot possibly present us with objects which have a definite place in

the structure of the physical world; it can only offer us objects of thought, or universals; for the beauty of nature that we all feel and talk about is not something which exists independently of human perception, like the reactions of solidity or gravitation.

Hence the sharp clear-cut opposition of art and nature within a work of art melts away. But if art can only deal indirectly with the physical world—if the artist cannot possibly give us " pure transcripts " and " pure portraiture," but only his own ideas of objects—it is evident that the " taint of composition " must press heavily on all his work. And if the " taint " of the artist's mind cannot, by any possibility, be eliminated from the simplest " copy " of any visible object, we need not fear to admit that the plates of the LIBER STUDIORUM are, as Mr. Roget has pointed out, " a set of very careful ' arrangements in brown,' and to observe how much of their effect upon the mind is due to the so-called ' tricks ' of contrast and gradation, of balance and harmony of parts and masses, which preserve a unity in their variety, and enabled the painter to place each subject plainly and impressively before the spectator " (Pye and Roget, p. 13). We can admit this without any fear of endangering the existence of those " landscape thoughts " which Ruskin rightly felt these " arrangements in brown " contained. The drawings are much more than mere arrangements, as Mr. Roget was careful to point out. Yet there is doubtless a possibility of being misunderstood if we talk dogmatically of the " lessons " and " message " of a work of art. The aim of the artist is to make us see those images of the familiar things of life and experience which he himself sees, to dream his dream, to share his feeling. Pictorial art, like poetry, has indeed its " lessons " and " messages," but they are not in the form of sharply defined concepts of the logical understanding. Art is an appeal to that part of our nature which has struck its roots deeper into the world of reality than our sensations and scientific understanding can penetrate. The ultimate meaning of a work of art is the feeling which it produces in us.

When once we have grasped this truth I do not think we need fear to accept the assistance which writers like Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Stopford Brooke offer us when they attempt to put into words those feelings which Turner's works produce. Mr. Ruskin's allegorical interpretations are on a different footing, and I would advise the reader to beware of them. But Turner certainly knew that " feeling of decay and humiliation " which gives solemnity to all the pastoral subjects of the LIBER STUDIORUM, and the aim of his work is to make us feel it. The LIBER also tells us what Turner felt about such things as " Morpeth Tower, roofless and black; gate of old Winchelsea wall, the flock of sheep driven *round* it, not through it; and Rievaulx choir, and Kirkstall crypt; and Dunstanborough, wan above the sea; and Chepstow, with arrowy light through traceried windows; and Lindisfarne, with failing height of wasted shaft and wall; and last and sweetest, Raglan, in utter solitude, amidst the wild wood of its own pleasaunce; the towers rounded with ivy, and the forest roots choked with undergrowth, and the brook

languid amidst lilies and sedges. Legends of gray knights and enchanted ladies keeping the woodman's children away at the sunset." All this, and the "lovely curvatures," the woody stiffness hinted through muscular lines, and the inventive grace of the trees in *Cephalus and Procris*, *Isleworth*, and so many other plates—all this and infinitely more is in the LIBER, and while men love to talk with their friends of their common experiences, there will be many who will gladly commune with Ruskin when he writes of these things. Turner's sense of beauty is more perfect than Ruskin's, his sympathies are wider, his feelings deeper. There is much more in Turner than even Ruskin could discover. But this is only to say that the commentary can never supersede the work which has inspired it.

TURNER'S "LIBER STUDIORUM"

A NEW CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

OF ALL THE PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED PLATES

PUBLISHED PLATES, NOS. 1-71
UNPUBLISHED PLATES, NOS. 72-91

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALLEN	= Arthur Acland Allen, Esq.
B.F.A. CLUB	= Burlington Fine Arts Club.
B.M.	= The Print Room, British Museum.
BOSTON	= The Francis Bullard Bequest to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
BROCKLEBANK	= Lieut.-Col. R. H. Brocklebank, D.S.O.
COURTAULD	= Major S. L. Courtauld.
HORNBY	= Hornby Library (Free Public Libraries), Liverpool.
J.E.T.A.	= The Trustees of the late J. E. T. Allen, Esq.
PYE AND ROGET	= "Notes and Memoranda respecting the Liber Studiorum of J. M. W. Turner, R.A." Written and collected by the late John Pye. Edited by J. L. Roget. London, 1879.
RAWLINSON	= "Turner's Liber Studiorum, a Description and a Catalogue." By W. G. Rawlinson. Second Edition. 1906.
RYLANDS	= The John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
STRANGE	= "The Etched and Engraved Work of Frank Short." By Edward F. Strange. 1908.
TURNER BEQUEST	= "The National Gallery. A Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest: with which are included the twenty-three drawings bequeathed by Mr. Henry Vaughan. Arranged chronologically by A. J. Finberg. By Order of the Trustees." Two vols. 1909.
V. AND A. MUSEUM	= Victoria and Albert Museum.
WINTHROP	= Grenville Lindall Winthrop, Esq.

1. FRONTISPIECE

This plate, though catalogued first, was originally issued with Part X, which was published May 1812.

LIBER STUDIORUM

1. FRONTISPIECE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

This FRONTISPIECE to
LIBER STUDIORUM
is most respectfully presented to the Subscribers by I,, M,, W,, Turner.
Drawn, Etched & the Centre Engraved by I. M. W: Turner Esqr R.A.P.P.
Engraved by I. C. Easling.
Published May 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

Within the plate, on a banner in left of border:—Engraved by | Wm Annis | G. Clint | I. C. Easling | R. Dunkarton | H. Daw | T. Hodgetts | S. W. Reynolds | W. Say | C. Turner | J. M. W. Turner

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing for the whole design is known. Two slight pen sketches are at BOSTON ex Taylor. A proof of first state of etching shows the centre design drawn in pencil, with the city on the right. BOSTON ex Stokes, Gambier Parry and Rawlinson. Another proof (HERE REPRODUCED) has the centre design drawn in pen and sepia. NATIONAL GALLERY, Vaughan Bequest (Catalogued with Drawings of Turner Bequest, CXVII, V).

ETCHING

FIRST STATE. Centre picture blank.
SECOND STATE. Picture etched, but distant castle only faintly indicated in dry-point.
THIRD STATE. Castle further worked in dry-point, with additional work, also in dry-point,

Bullard Drawings

1) Pen and ink on thin paper. ~~[illegible]~~ 184 × [illegible] (basic design [illegible] clear [illegible])

2) Pen and ink squared in pencil. 179 × 225 (largely as etching)

3) Etching with city drawn in in pencil reversed.

on waves, temple, etc. (HERE REPRODUCED.) Water mark: *J. Whatman* 1810. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Eleven impressions of the etching in the Turner Sale, 1873.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Border and framework of picture mezzotinted. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry and Rawlinson. (*b*) Picture in centre mezzotinted, but before lettering on tablet and banner. Before all letters. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan, BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor. (*c*) Lettered as First State. Before raised arm of figure on tablet on left was completed, and before hieroglyphs crossing the figure. Before large dark shadow on banner. ALLEN ex Knowles.

FIRST STATE

Before mark in margin. *J. Whatman* 1810.
Later impressions have further light folds added on banner.

SECOND STATE

Two short diagonal strokes about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. long, which sometimes look to the naked eye like a single stroke, added in left lower corner of margin, nearly $\frac{1}{16}$ in. below and almost parallel with downstroke of "D," in "Drawn, Etched &c."
In centre picture no new rays of light in upper right corner. No re-work; only effects of wear. *J. Whatman* 1810.

THIRD STATE

Same mark in margin. Centre picture re-worked, probably in aquatint. Castle on left darkened, and temple and buildings below. A fresh line of distant hills added above sea-line, and dark and light lines on sea. Reflections in sand of centre group of figures sharply defined. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Mark in left lower margin completed to a capital A.
Centre picture much worn; no traces left of retouching in previous state. Two light streaks added in sky above and to right of cumulus clouds at right of distant castle; small lights added in foreground and on sea between bull's head and right border-line. Some shadows in border re-worked; *e.g.* that from tablet above banner. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FIFTH STATE

Centre picture entirely re-worked. Sky is heavy, with clouds quite different in shape from those in previous states. *J. Whatman* 1810. *Laid.*

COPIES

BY T. LUPTON.

ETCHING. Pl. mk., $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; E.s., $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Dark brown ink with light tone over plate.
MEZZOTINT. Pl. mk., $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; E.s., $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Lettered: (*Top margin*) "This FRONTISPIECE to (*on panel, within plate*) LIBER STUDIORUM (*lower margin*) Is presented to the Subscribers by the Engraver. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos. Lupton. London; Pubd. Jany. 1858, by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. 13 & 14, Pall Mall East. & the Engraver, 4, Keppel St. W.C." Publication line in small Roman caps. on some impressions; on others it is in small Italic, with "Russell Square" added after "Keppel St."
Both kinds are lettered on the banner within the plate: "To | JOHN RUSKIN ESQ. | This Selection | from the | LIBER STUDIORUM | of | J. M. W. TURNER | is | Dedicated | with | Permission | by | THE ENGRAVER | Thos. Lupton."

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

The centre picture only ($5 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in.); within different border. Used as frontispiece to the first series of copies of "Liber Studiorum," published by R. Dunthorne. See STRANGE, "Etched and Engraved Work of Frank Short," 1908, no. 47.

2. BRIDGE AND COWS

The first Plate in Part I, which was published 11th June 1807.

2. BRIDGE AND COWS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.
Engraved by C. Turner.
Published as the Act directs by J. M. W. Turner Harley Street.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. Reverse of engraving. Faded. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, A.

ETCHING

$8 \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Rare. Only three in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky even in tone. Clouds on left lightly indicated. BOSTON. (*b*) Light upper clouds added. BOSTON (2), one ex Stokes and Taylor, the other, touched, ex Gambier Parry and Rawlinson. (*c*) Some slightly darker clouds added on right. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*d*) Nearly completed. Sky lightened and altered. Before upper horizontal lights to right of centre foliage. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan, ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor, J.E.T.A. ex Taylor (touched), and COURTAULD ex Cathcart.
All these proofs are before letters.

FIRST STATE

Initial letter P is tall and slender, open, and slightly over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{16}$ in. above engraved border-line. *Dovecotes I, II, VIII.*
Cross-planks on bridge light. *Dupuy I, II, III.*

SECOND STATE

Initial letter filled up.
Cross-planks still light. No re-work. *Dupuy I, II.*

THIRD STATE

Initial letter re-engraved. Open as in I, but only $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, and $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border-line.
Cross-planks still light. No re-work. *Dovecotes II, V. J. Whatman.*

FOURTH STATE

Initial as in III, but re-worked in parts; *i.e.*, on shadows of trees under and above bridge towards right, on trunks and branches of nearer and second willow on right, on part of cast shadow of seated white cow, etc. Some of the cross-planks in centre of bridge and the hand-rail above are darkened in the re-rocking, but cross-planks in front of cottage are still light.
Dovecote XIII.

FIFTH STATE

Initial as in III, but dot added in its bow.
Further re-work. Cross-planks near standing girl and ground below her are darkened. Light wall of cottage beyond is now white. No lights between branches of distant tree on right. Foliage and water darkened. Space between weeds in centre foreground and lower border-line is now darkened. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ENGRAVER.

MEZZOTINT. Pl. mk., $9 \times 11\frac{15}{16}$; E.s., $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Lettered: "P BRIDGE AND COWS. From a drawing & Etching by J. M. W. Turner. Esq. R.A. London Published by Day & Son Lithographers to the Queen, Gate Street, Lincolns Inn Fields, and Paul & Dominic Colnaghi, & Co 13 & 14 Pall Mall.—Publishers to Her Majesty."
Published in 1854, in "Liber Studiorum: illustrative of Landscape Compositions. By J. M. W. Turner, R.A. A selection of fifteen of the best plates." Day and Son, Lithographers, etc.

BY THOS. LUPTON.

ETCHING. Pl. mk., $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; E.s, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Printed with slight tone over plate and left and right margins.

MEZZOTINT. Pl. mk., $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; E.s., $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Some impressions with no lettering. Others, lettered, top margin: "E. P.", with no other lettering. Others, lettered: "E.P. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. Proof."

3. THE WOMAN AND TAMBOURINE

Called by Turner E. P. BRIDGE *and* CLAUDE E. P.
Issued in Part I.

3. THE WOMAN AND TAMBOURINE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E.P
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by C. Turner.
Published as the Act directs by J. M. W. Turner Harley Street.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Pen and sepia. Several slight differences from design. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, B.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{32} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Seven copies in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky and middle distance flat, with little detail. ALLEN ex Taylor (*Dovecote VIII*), BOSTON ex Gambier Parry and Rawlinson. (*b*) Sky darkened above, lightened below. Middle distance developed. Paper scraped for high lights on clouds, horizon and woman with tambourine. BOSTON ex Taylor. (*c*) Corrections carried out. Clouds further defined. Lights added on foliage, etc. ALLEN ex Horne, BOSTON ex Buccleuch and Lees. All before letters. (*d*) Lettered, but before initial. STOPFORD W. BROOKE ex Chas. Turner.

3. THE WOMAN AND TAMBOURINE *continued*

FIRST STATE

Initials E.P in open capitals, just over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, and just over $\frac{1}{16}$ in. above engraved border-line. Letters in publication line, etc., are of equal thickness. *Dovecotes I, VII.*
Dupuy II, Auvergne II, III.

SECOND STATE

Initial letters filled up. Downstrokes in publication line, etc., thickened. Lighter through wear, but still good. *Dovecote VIII.*
Dupuy IV, Auvergne III, V.

THIRD STATE

Initials re-engraved, smaller and higher up, but open as in I. No full stop after E; the letters are now just under $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, and $\frac{3}{16}$ in. above border-line.
Shadows of trees on left re-worked. Water lightened in centre and on right. Lights added on foliage above bridge on right. *Auvergne and Dupuy II, Dupuy VII.*
J. Whatman 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Dot added in bow of initial P.
More lights added; *e.g.*, on stooping man in boat, his reflection in water, bank to right of boat, centre foreground, shield of goddess, and on road and bank above on left. Bridge on left, river bank in centre, and water on right darkened. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

COPY

BY T. LUPTON.

ETCHING. Pl. mk., $8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{7}{8}$; E.s., $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Not such a broad bevel as other plates of this series. Water Mark : *J. Whatman* 1846. Some impressions in black ink are clean-wiped, others, in dark brown ink, have light tone over plate.

MEZZOTINT. Same measurements, except width of engraved surface, $10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered : "N° 2. Proof. London, Pub. 1858, by Colnaghi & C° Pall Mall. & the Engraver, 4, Keppel St. Russel Sq." Other impressions have "E.P." in open caps. in upper margin, and publication line only in lower margin.

4. SCENE ON THE FRENCH COAST

Commonly called FLINT CASTLE.
Issued in Part I.

4. SCENE ON THE FRENCH COAST

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by C. Turner.
Published as the Act directs by J. M. W. Turner Harley Street.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Pen and sepia. In reverse. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, C.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10$. Much altered from the drawing. Only five copies in Turner Sale. An impression fully worked in sepia by Turner as guide to the engraver, TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, D. *J. Whatman* 1805.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before any white clouds or light in sky. Drawn upon by Turner. ALLEN ex Heywood, Hawkins and Taylor. (*b*) Advanced. Still before letters. BOSTON ex Taylor. (*c*) Completed, except sky. Window openings in castle dark. Lettered as in First State, except that initial letter is a small italic m. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry and Rawlinson.

FIRST STATE

Initial letter M an open capital, $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, and just over $\frac{1}{16}$ in. above engraved border-line.
Lettering in lower margin has lines of equal thickness.
Sky completed. Window openings in castle still dark. *Dovecotes I, II.*
Auvergne and Dupuy II.

SECOND STATE

Initial letter filled up, and downstrokes of all lettering in lower margin thickened.
No re-work. Window openings lighter, perhaps through wear. *Dovecotes I, VIII.*
Auvergne III.

THIRD STATE

Initial letter re-engraved; open again, as in I, but less than $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, and full $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border-line.
Window openings in castle lightened and a few lights in foreground added.
Loss of gradation through wear, but no re-mezzotinting. *Dovecotes I, IV.*
Late impressions generally in reddish ink. *J. Whatman. Dupuy VII.*
T. Richard (b). Wove.

(Mr. Rawlinson describes a Fourth State, which is "again re-worked." I cannot follow his description of the Third State, and I have never seen an impression which would answer to his description of a Fourth.)

5. BASLE

Issued in Part I.

5. BASLE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A
BASLE
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A..
Engraved by C. Turner.
Published as the Act directs by J. M. W. Turner, Harley Street.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

There is no pen and sepia drawing of this subject in the Turner Bequest.
A drawing of this subject is said to have been sold by Mr. Halstead some years before 1878. (RAWLINSON, *1st Edn.*)
A proof of the etching worked over in sepia for the guidance of the engraver is here reproduced. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, 1.
The subject was sketched during Turner's first Swiss tour in 1802. The pencil drawing is in the "Fonthill" Sketch Book, TURNER BEQUEST, XLVII, p. 54.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; no upper border $\times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Lettered: "BASLE SWIT . . ERLAND."
Some impressions are faintly printed, showing fewer lines in places than those more firmly

printed. It is doubtful, however, whether there are two states, though two states were catalogued in the Turner Sale.
Six impressions in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Very dark; almost a night effect. Etching of Cathedral spires and other lightly etched lines have disappeared under the rocker. Margins not cleaned. Lettered in pencil by Turner with title and initial; he has also written in left lower margin: "Cows. P. Jason. H. Claude. E. P." ALLEN ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor. (*b*) Lighter, and still before engraved details on spires. Note in margin in pencil apparently written by Charles Turner: "Moonlight afterwards altered to Sun shine." BROCKLEBANK ex Dillon, Mendel, Addington, and Knowles. (*c*) Sky lightened in places. Outlines and details of Cathedral spires added with graver—differing from those in etching. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor. (*d*) Sky lightened and greatly advanced. BOSTON ex Stokes and Buccleuch, HORNBY, and ALLEN (2), one ex Horne, the other ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor. All before letters. (*e*) Four proofs lettered as in First State, but said to differ slightly. BOSTON ex Rawlinson and Lees. (*f*) Lights on clouds above sun enlarged and intensified. Faint rounded lights added on cloud below sun on left. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor. (This proof was exhibited as a First State at the Tate Gallery, 1921-22. It is here reproduced instead of the First State.)

FIRST STATE

Initial letter open, just over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{16}$ in. above border line. Title open. Lettering in publication line, etc., of equal thickness. *Dovecote I. Dupuy II and III.*
Dark upper parts of clouds above sun more sharply defined. Sun's rays subdued, and faint rounded lights below sun turned into clearly defined bow-shaped lights. Lights subdued on houses below Cathedral.

SECOND STATE

Initial and title filled up. Downstrokes in publication line, etc., thickened.
Dovecotes I, VIII. Auvergne I, III.

THIRD STATE

Initial and title re-engraved; open as in I. Initial is now $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border line. Title is now lower down and begins $\frac{1}{16}$ in. to right of its previous position. A full stop has now been added after title.
Small lights added on houses below Cathedral spires. Lights on water heightened.
Dovecotes V, VI. Auvergne and Dupuy I. J. Whatman 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Largely re-worked. New lights added; *e.g.*, in sky, numerous small rounded clouds over gable of Cathedral towards centre. Re-rocked over left and centre foreground, dark sides of houses on right of bridge, the second house from the right margin, and eaves, shadow and lower part of first house on right. *T. Richard* (*a*).

FIFTH STATE

Dot added in upper bow of B in title. *Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

SIXTH STATE

Dots in both bows of B in title.
(This state is given on Mr. Rawlinson's authority. I have never seen an impression with these marks.)

6. JASON

Issued in Part I.

6. JASON

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H
JASON.
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by C. Turner.
Published as the Act directs by J. M. W. Turner Harley Street.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, E.
The oil-painting (first exhibited at the R.A. in 1802) is now in the National Gallery, No. 471. It differs considerably from the drawing.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Only five in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1805.
FIRST STATE. Marginal line at right and other lines imperfectly bitten. Drawn on in pencil by Turner, who has added in margin:

"On looking over this Etching this Morning I find that a few lines would make it much better looking. [? Please befo]re you take the Dozen Prints off to put them in as marked in pencil. If you are at home send this back . . . bring it as I will shadow it in brown, it being on hard paper. If it is possible to have the prints . . . with it today I should be very glad. Take 15 prints off

instead of a dozen. [Sketch of part of figure] to be dark but to add the armour on the thigh behind the tree."

Margins not cleaned. BOSTON.

SECOND STATE. Marginal line completed. Chief corrections carried out. Margins cleaned.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Lights beginning to appear on serpent. BOSTON ex Taylor. (*b*) Lights and details added. Still before all letters. BOSTON ex Stokes and Rawlinson. (*c*) Touched, and with lettering added in manuscript.—ALLEN ex Heywood Hawkins. (*d*) Lettered as in First State, but without initial letter. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan.

A touched proof appeared in the Reiss Sale, 1901, and a sixth proof, ex Taylor and Bullard, is recorded.

FIRST STATE

Initial and title in open caps. with lines of equal thickness. Initial is just over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and just over $\frac{1}{16}$ in. above border line. Other lettering has lines of equal thickness.

Dovecote VIII. Auvergne and Dupuy I, II.

SECOND STATE

Initial filled up, and right-hand strokes in Jason thickened. Downstrokes of other lettering strengthened. *Dovecotes II, VIII. Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

THIRD STATE

Initial and title re-engraved and open again, with lines of equal thickness, as in I. Initial letter is now $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and nearly $\frac{3}{16}$ in. above border line. JASON is lower, and has been moved slightly to right. "3 *by* 4" has been added after JASON, and "*Pict.* 3 *Ft by* 4." on left, below "Etched by J. M."

Shadows re-mezzotinted, on figure, on tree-trunk on which Jason's left hand rests, on lower and right part of upright stump on his right, and on spaces beyond on right. The opening of cavern in centre is enlarged, and the broad band of shadow running obliquely across design is darkened. Two wide bands of light are taken out on ground below figure slightly to left, and other smaller lights on ground are added. *J. Whatman* 1810. *Dovecotes IX, X.*

FOURTH STATE

Re-mezzotinted all over. Coarse roulette lines added in right corner of foreground (over bones, etc.), with three strokes projecting over margin on right, about 1 in. from bottom line. Among the new lights added on foreground are two light stones below and to left of Jason. *Dovecote XI.*

FIFTH STATE

Dot added in O of Jason. Late impressions much worn. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

7. THE STRAW YARD

Called by Turner THE WHITE HORSE.
The First Plate in Part II, published
20*th February* 1808.

7. THE STRAW YARD

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P
Drawn & Etchd by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Chas Turner.
London Published Feby 20. 1808. by C. Turner. N° 50 Warren Street Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10$ in.

DRAWING over pencil all within outline

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, J.
Reverse of engraving. Slight alterations made in etching.

ETCHING

$8 \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$. Only four in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1804.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) B.a.l. Before bright lights on clouds at right and horizon on left. Worked over in pencil by Turner. Signed by Chas. Turner. ALLEN ex Horne. Another, not touched. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*b*) About the same as regards lights. Lettered as in First State, except that the date of publication is "Feby 10." ALLEN ex Stokes.
(The first Engraver's Proof in Bullard Catalogue has the re-engraved initial and lettering of Third State.)

FIRST STATE

Initial P an open capital with lines of equal thickness. Lettering in lower margin of equal thickness.

Sky more brilliant than in Engraver's Proofs, and less variations of tone in roof of barn. Light on left door of barn heightened towards top and about $\frac{9}{16}$ in. above dark horse's neck.

Dovecotes IV, VI. Dupuy I, II, IV.

SECOND STATE

Right-hand lines of P thickened and a single vertical line inserted in stem and bow. Commas added after "London" and "Street," and in "Etch'd." All downstrokes in lower margin thickened.

No re-work. Lights on barn-door as in I. Sky still brilliant and impressions generally fine.

Dovecotes I, V, VI.

THIRD STATE

Inside lines removed from P, and the letter re-engraved, with strokes of equal thickness; the outside line of the bow is now smaller and less round than in I.

Edge of barn-door is now dark, but lighter at bottom than at top, and curving in lower part towards the right. Some re-work on barn and trees above it. *Dovecotes V, XI, XII.*

FOURTH STATE

Dot added in bow of P.

Further re-work. Edge of barn-door now lightened, but it curves towards the bottom, finishing about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. to right of earlier edge, which is still partly visible.

F & D. Dupuy VIII. Wove.

8. THE CASTLE ABOVE THE MEADOWS

Called by Turner THE E. P. CASTLE; *also called* OAKHAMPTON CASTLE, *and* PASTORAL WITH THE WHITE COW.
Issued in Part II.

8. THE CASTLE ABOVE THE MEADOWS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

EP
Drawn & Etch'd by J. M. W.. Turner Esqr R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Chas Turner.
London. Published Feby 20, 1808, by C. Turner, N° 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate-Mark*, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. Faded. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, K.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Only five in the Turner Sale.
A First State is mentioned in Boston catalogue, before some lines on castle and rock.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky unfinished. Rock, castle, and foreground at right touched with pencil by Turner. Before letters. BOSTON ex Parry and Rawlinson. (*b*) Further advanced. Still before letters. Present owner unknown, ex Taylor.

FIRST STATE

Initials E P in open capitals, with lines of equal thickness. The "20" in date of publication has been altered from "10." *Dovecotes III, V, VI. Auvergne I, III. Dupuy I.*

SECOND STATE

Right-hand lines in initial thickened, and single vertical lines inserted in the thicker members of each letter.
All downstrokes in lettering in lower margin thickened, and the "2" (in Feby 20) more completely altered from "1."
No re-work. Still fine. *Dovecotes IV, VI. Dupuy I.*

THIRD STATE

Initials E P again open and with lines of equal thickness, as in I, but traces of inside lines still remain.
High lights on boy's face, on stile, and foliage at its left worn; in later impressions of this state the lights are restored. *Dovecotes III, IV. Auvergne III.*

FOURTH STATE

Dot added in bow of P (in EP). *Dupuy VIII.*
Often very good. Later impressions, worn. *Wove.*

9. MT. ST. GOTHARD

Issued in Part II.

9. MT. ST. GOTHARD

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M.S
Mt. St. GOTHARD
Drawn & Etchd by J. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Chas Turner.
London Published Febr 20, 1808. by C. Turner Nº 50. Warren Street
Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, L.
Sketched in 1802. There are several sketches in this neighbourhood in the "St. Gothard & Mt. Blanc" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXV.

ETCHING

$8 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. "Mt St Gothard" scratched in open Roman letters.
Rare. Only three in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1804.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Etched outlines of snow-peaks clearly defined. Snow lower in tone than later. ALLEN, SHORT, COURTAULD ex Taylor. A fourth, drawn upon and scraped by Turner, with elaborate instructions to the engraver in the margin. BOSTON ex Taylor. (It would be

useless to transcribe these instructions without giving a plan of the engraving marked with numbers and letters to explain the references in the notes. The chief points of the instructions may be summarized as follows: Lighten the sky on the right where the rocking is uneven, so as to make it equal in tone to left part of sky, which will "do very well." Make the distant snow-covered mountain lighter, and the lights pure white, taking out the etched lines if you can. Make the distant mountain near centre darker, with sparkling pieces of snow on it. Make the three peaks in right middle distance lighter than the sky, and lighten cloud below. Be careful to make all the distant mountains lighter than the centre mountain in middle distance. Darken the nearer mass of mountains on right and above tunnel. "These things being well attended to may save the sky," *i.e.*, save you having to re-mezzotint the sky.) All with etched lettering. (*b*) Instructions only partially carried out. Snow-capped peak burnished and deep shadows added in foreground. Same lettering. ALLEN and BOSTON ex Stokes and Buccleuch. (*c*) Small clouds added above peak. Same lettering. BOSTON ex Rawlinson. (*d*) Lettered as First State, with sky scraped for further lights, and before lights on rocks to left. J.E.T.A. ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor.

FIRST STATE

Initial letters (M.S) and title in open caps, with lines of equal thickness. Initial letters are under $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and less than $\frac{1}{16}$ in. above border line. Later impressions of this state have a stop after "C. Turner" in publication line. *Dovecotes III, VI, VIII. Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

SECOND STATE

Right-hand lines in initials and title thickened, and single vertical lines inserted in their thicker members.
Downstrokes of script in lower margin thickened. Commas added, in "Etch'd," and after "London," and "Street."
No re-work. Still good. *Dovecotes IV, V, VI.*

THIRD STATE

Initials and title re-engraved. Open as in I, but traces of inside lines in initials and "D" of title can still be seen. In title, letters "HAR," and the final stop, differ in shape from those in I. *Dovecotes V, XI. Dupuy I. Auvergne IV.*

FOURTH STATE

Dark parts of foreground rocks re-worked. Lights added on rock above tunnel and on left. Distant mountains on right lightened and lights added on rounded mountain in lower distance. *Dovecote IX. T. Richard (a).*

FIFTH STATE

Dot added in right member of initial M. *T. Richard (a).*

SIXTH STATE

Dot removed from M, and another placed in O, in title. *Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

COPY

BY T. LUPTON.
ETCHING. Pl. mk., $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; E.s., $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Slight tint all over plate. *Wove.*
Not carried beyond the etching. No mezzotint.

10. SHIPS IN A BREEZE

Called also THE EGREMONT SEA PIECE.
Issued in Part II.

10. SHIPS IN A BREEZE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
In the possession of the Earl of Egremont.
Drawn & Etchd by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Chas Turner.
London Published Feby 20. 1808. by C. Turner N° 50, Warren Street Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, M.
The oil painting of this subject, entitled "Ships bearing up for Anchorage," was exhibited at the R.A. in 1802 (No. 227). It was bought by George, 3rd Earl of Egremont, and is now in the possession of Lord Leconfield.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Lettered in lower margin, in scratched italics: "In the Possession of the Earl of Egremont."
Only four copies in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Early, touched. Clouds flat and unfinished. Rigging of two ships in centre corrected with pencil. Etched lettering. BOSTON ex Taylor. (*b*) Lights and modelling added on

clouds. Topmasts of ship on left redrawn. MRS. S. BARNES, BOSTON ex Stokes, Buccleuch, and Rawlinson. (*c*) Before birds on left were made white. ALLEN ex Horne. (*d*) Birds made white. Sea lightened and lights added on flags and both top-hampers of farther ships in centre. ALLEN ex Irvine Smith and Murray (*Dovecote VIII*). (*e*) More advanced, but before high lights on clouds on right and in top centre. BRITISH MUSEUM.
All with etched lettering.

FIRST STATE

Initial letter M an open capital. *Dovecotes III, V, VI. Auvergne and Dupuy II.*

SECOND STATE

Single vertical lines inserted in two thicker members of initial letter M, and right-hand lines thickened.
Downstrokes of title thickened. Comma added in "Etch'd." *Dovecote V.*
Auvergne and Dupuy I.

THIRD STATE

Initial M re-engraved, with lines of equal thickness. Inside lines removed, but traces of them remain
"6 by 5" added after "Egremont" in title-line.
Generally printed in redder ink. *Dovecote X. Auvergne II.*

FOURTH STATE

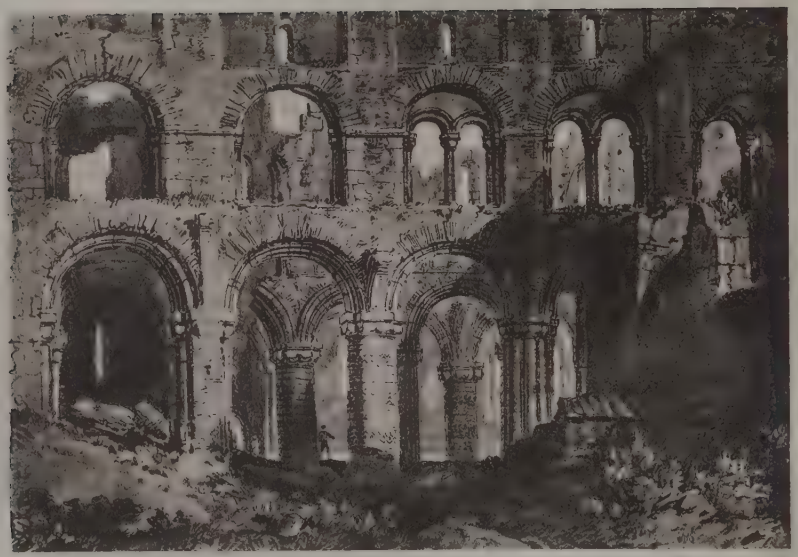
Re-worked. Centre sky lightened in parts leaving four decided lines of shadow coming from dark clouds on left towards ship in centre. Shadows on sea re-worked in parts; *e.g.*, the shadow cast by foremost ship on right. *Dovecote IX.*

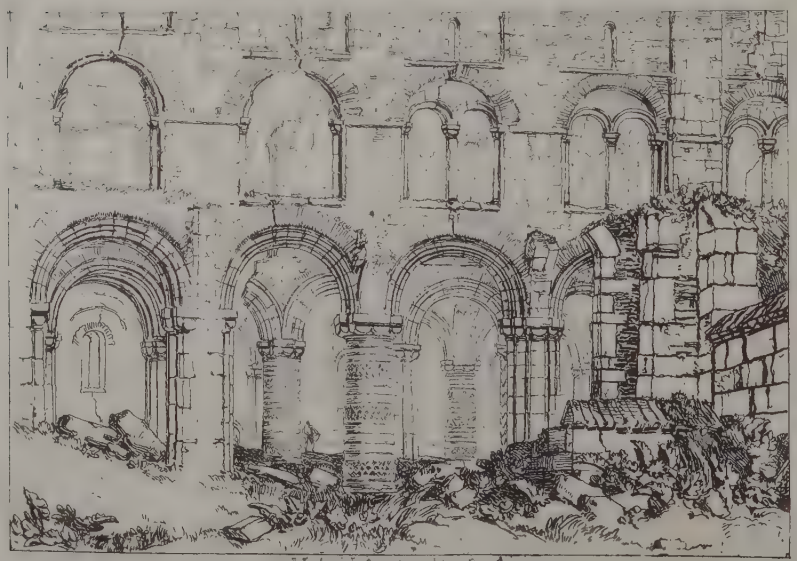
FIFTH STATE

Dots added in O's of both "ofs" in title.
Some printed in reddish and some in darker ink. *Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

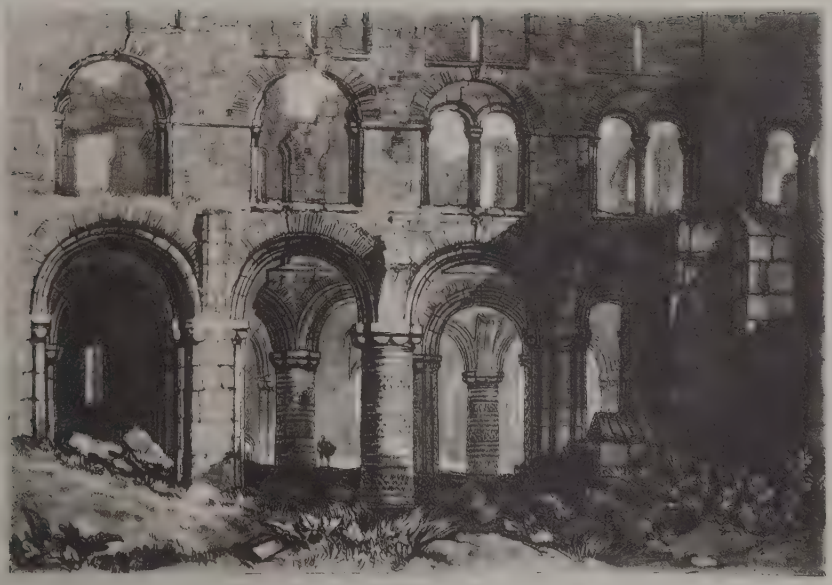
11. HOLY ISLAND CATHEDRAL

Issued in Part III.





: Holy-Island North



11. HOLY ISLAND CATHEDRAL

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A

HOLY ISLAND CATHEDRAL.
Drawn & Etch'd by J. M. W. Turner, Esqr. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Chas Turner.
London, Published Feby 20, 1808, by C. Turner, N° 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, N. Sketched in 1797. The pencil drawing from nature is in "North of England" Sketch Book, T.B. XXXIV, p. 54.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Lettered in etched open Roman letters: "Holy—Island [space] North$^{d}_{=}$."
Five copies in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) With etched lettering. Sky flat; before lights on masonry or in foreground. RYLANDS ex Chas. Turner and J. Heywood Hawkins, and BOSTON ex Stokes. (*b*) Lettered as First State, but without the initial letter. Before lights on masonry, etc. These are scraped

out on the paper by Turner. Ex Taylor. (*c*) Initial letter added. Lights added but not yet burnished. BOSTON ex Rawlinson, and HORNBY ex Buccleuch.

FIRST STATE

Initial A and title in open capitals. All lines of script of equal thickness. High lights burnished. *Dovecotes III, V, VI. Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

SECOND STATE

Single vertical lines inserted in thicker members of all letters in title and in initial. Down-strokes of all script thickened.
Little inferior to I. *Dovecotes III, IV, V, VI. Auv. and Dupuy I, II.*

THIRD STATE

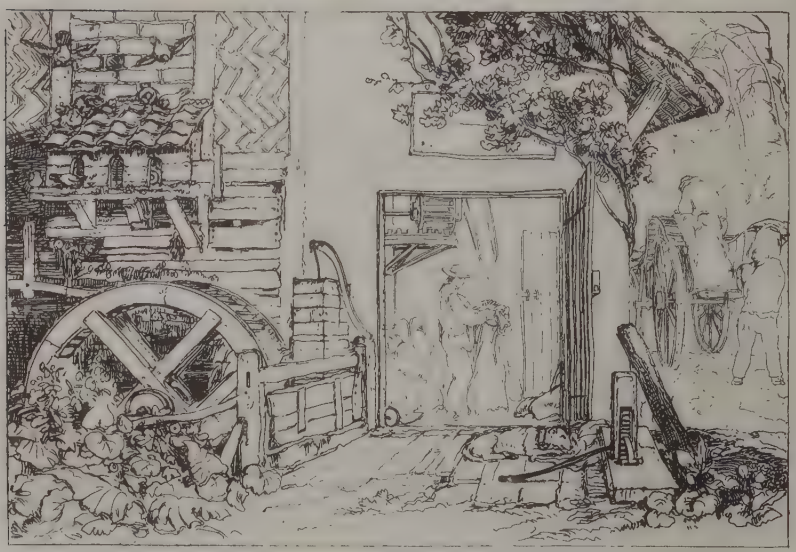
Inside lines removed from initial and title, but traces of them remain. Outside line on right of A (initial) is now broken near top, and the cross-piece is lower than before. Letters of title also re-engraved, with slight differences from I. *Auvergne and Dupuy II.*
Signs of wear, but still fine in early impressions. *Dupuy VII. T. Richard* (*a*).

FOURTH STATE

Dot added in O of title. *Dupuy VIII.*
No re-work. Often good. *Wove.*

12. PEMBURY MILL, KENT

First Plate in Part III.



12. PEMBURY MILL, KENT

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

PEMBURY MILL, KENT.
Drawn & Etchd by J. M. W. Turner Esq[r] R.A.P.P.
Engraved by C. Turner.
London. Published June 10. 1808. by C. Turner, N[o] 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, 0.
Pembury Mill is three miles north-east of Tunbridge Wells.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Only four in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1804.
On lower margin of one impression, now in Mr. A. A. Allen's collection, ex Stokes and Taylor, Turner has written:

"This will do. The other plate you had better take a proof off; then put on a clear ground and let me have it to make good deficiencies. I have not the Etching-tools, send the Box."

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before rays of light coming through doorway. BOSTON ex Pocock and Rawlinson. One touched by Turner, with rays indicated. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor. (*b*) Rays and reflec-

tions added. Publication line, etc., but before title. BRITISH MUSEUM, BROCKLEBANK ex Stokes and Taylor. (*c*) Additional lights on foliage above door, on lock of door, and beside dog. Lettered, and cut down. J.E.T.A.
The present owner of a sixth proof, ex Lees and Bullard, is not known.

FIRST STATE

Initial P an open capital, with lines of equal thickness, $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border line. "Proof" faintly scratched under "Drawn" in left lower margin, and, again, above initial letter. *Dovecotes I, V, VI. Dupuy IV. Auvergne IV.*

SECOND STATE

Initial and title thickened on right and filled with horizontal lines. All downstrokes in script thickened. "Proof" removed from top and lower margins. No re-work. Loss of force owing to wear, but still very good. *Dovecote VI. Auvergne II.*

THIRD STATE

Initial and title re-engraved; open as in I, but initial is now less than $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and less than $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border line; title is changed to "Penbury Mill, Kent."
No re-work. *Auvergne IV.*

FOURTH STATE

Same lettering as III, but re-worked. The splashes of water within the wheel and other lights now differ in shape. *Dovecotes XI, XV.*
Often very good. Late impressions worn. *Dupuy VII, VIII. Wove.*

COPY

BY T. LUPTON.
ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. No lettering. Light tint over plate.
MEZZOTINT. Same measurements. Some impressions with no lettering. Others lettered: "PEMBURY MILL, KENT. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. Proof."

13. THE BRIDGE IN MIDDLE DISTANCE

Turner's title, WALTON BRIDGE. *Also called*
THE SUN BETWEEN TREES.
Issued in Part III.

13. THE BRIDGE IN MIDDLE DISTANCE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E P
Drawn & Etched by. J. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by C. Turner.
London Published June 10. 1808. by C. Turner N° 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING
$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, P.

ETCHING
$8 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7 \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Only four in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS
(*a*) Ground-work of aquatint overlaid with mezzotint, except in sky. BOSTON. (*b*) Dark, but nearly finished. Small band of clouds across middle of sun; two small branches on either side of middle tree are dark. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor. (*c*) Sun almost cleared of clouds and two small branches on middle tree lightened. ALLEN ex Taylor. (*d*) Sky lightened. Touched. BROCKLEBANK ex Rawlinson. All before letters.
The present owner of a proof ex Lees and Bullard is not known.

FIRST STATE

Initial letters E P in open capitals, with lines of equal thickness ; about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{16}$ in. above border-line.
"Proof" in italic in left lower margin near plate-mark.
Sun clearly defined ; upper half and right lower quarter quite white.
Dovecotes III, IV, V, VIII. Auvergne and Dupuy I.

SECOND STATE

Lines on right of initials thickened, and broader parts filled with horizontal lines.
All script strengthened. "Proof" removed.
Sun still visible, but surrounding sky lighter through wear. The three lines of shadow from fourth tree are still distinct.
No re-work. *Dovecote VI. Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

THIRD STATE

Initials re-engraved, and open as in I. Letters are $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{3}{16}$ in. above border line.
Sun still visible, and three shadows still complete. *Auvergne II.*

FOURTH STATE

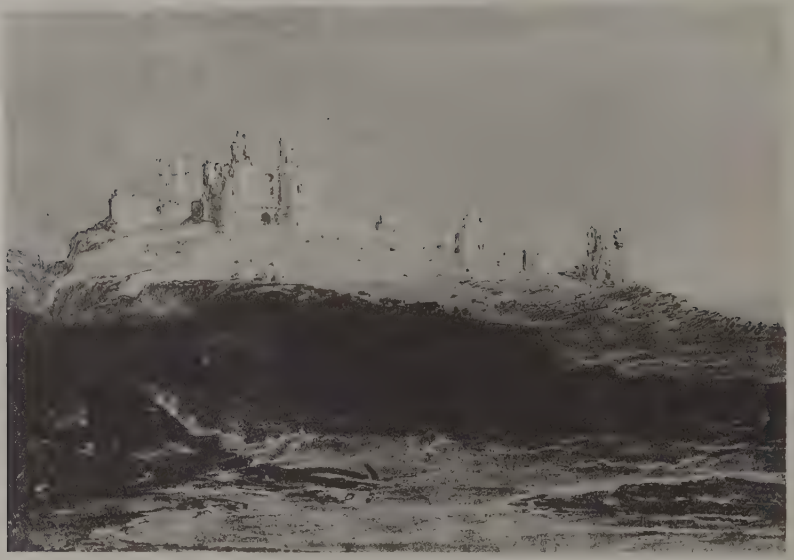
Sun now indistinguishable from light of sky. The middle of the three shadows cast by the tree on right is now nearly obliterated towards the trunk.
Redder ink. *Dovecote III.*

FIFTH STATE

Sky re-worked, with many new lights. Rays of sun strike upwards. Sun again distinct in early impressions.
Very fine in early impressions. *Dovecotes III, XIV. Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

14. DUNSTANBOROUGH CASTLE

Issued in Part III.



In the Poſſeſsion of Wm Penn Esqr

14. DUNSTANBOROUGH CASTLE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A
DUNTANBOROUGH CASTLE the Picture in the possession of W„ Penn Esqr
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.P.P.
Engraved by C. Turner.
London Published June 10. 1808. by C. Turner N° 50, Warren Street. Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, Q.
Sketched in 1797. The drawing from nature is in "North of England" Sketch Book, T.B., XXXIV, p. 45. The same drawing was apparently used for the "England and Wales" subject, published March 1830. An oil painting of this subject was exhibited at R.A. in 1798, described as "Sunrise after a squally night"; it is now in the Melbourne Art Gallery.

ETCHING

$8 \times 11\frac{1}{8}$; no top border line $\times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered: "In the Possession of Wm Penn Esqr". Only four copies in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1804.
Touched proof of First State before line of horizon on right was added. BOSTON ex Reiss.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Earliest; sky and castle very light. BOSTON ex Short. (*b*) Sky and castle darkened.

Drawn upon by Turner, with note by him to engraver in margin:

"Sir, You have done in aquatint all the Castle down to the rocks; Did I ever ask for such an indulgence?"

BOSTON ex Taylor. (*c*) Nearly completed, but before lights on sea, foreground, and middle-distance. Castle and slope below still in aquatint; no mezzotinting on them. Lettered as in First State, except that the title reads: "Duntanborough Castle, a Picture in the possession of W,, Pem Esq[r]", and the date in publication line is "May 20," instead of "June 10." "Proof" not yet scratched in left lower margin. ALLEN (*Dovecote VI*) and HORNBY (cut down). (*d*) Mezzotint added on Castle and slope, and lights taken out on sea, foreground, and middle-distance. "Proof" added in pencil. ALLEN ex Pocock. (*e*) Date altered to "June 10," and "Proof" added. COURTAULD, BOSTON.

FIRST STATE

Initial A an open capital with lines of equal thickness, over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border line. "A Picture" altered to "the Picture," "Pem" to "Penn," and "May 20" to "June 10." The comma after "Castle" remains, but seems to form part of the "the" which has been added over and beside the "a." "Proof" scratched in italics in left lower corner.

Lights on sea and foreground brightened. *Dovecotes IV, VI. Auvergne I, III.*

SECOND STATE

Right-hand line of initial thickened and its stem filled with horizontal lines. Downstrokes of all lettering in lower margin thickened. "Proof" remains in lower margin.

No re-work. Still fine. *Dovecote VI. Auvergne I, II.*

THIRD STATE

Initial re-engraved, smaller, but open as in I.

Title re-engraved with lines of equal thickness, as in I, but it now begins $\frac{1}{8}$ in. farther to left, and ends $\frac{1}{2}$ in. farther from right margin. There is now a full stop after "Castle," "a Picture" takes the place of "the Picture," and "3 by 4" is added after title, a little lower down to the right. "Proof" still remains in margin.

No re-work, but lighter through wear. The general tint of sky seems to have worn more than the darker bands of cloud over it, so that the clouds appear comparatively darker than before. They are still entirely in aquatint. *Auvergne and Dupuy II.*

Some late impressions in very red ink. *T. Richard (a). Wove.*

COPY

BY AN UNKNOWN ENGRAVER.

All in mezzotint. $9 \times 11\frac{15}{16}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Lettered: "A DUNTANBOROUGH CASTLE. From a drawing & etching by J. M. W. Turner, Esq. R.A.P.P." and publication lines as in copy of No. 2. Published in Messrs. Day and Son's volume of "Selections."

15. LAKE OF THUN

Issued in Part III.

15. LAKE OF THUN

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

LAKE OF THUN, SWISS.

Drawn & Etchd by J. M. W. Turner Esq[r] R.A.P.P.

Engraved by C. Turner.

London Published June 10. 1808 by C. Turner N° 50 Warren Street Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, R.
Sketched during the first Swiss tour, in 1802. See "Lake of Thun" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXVI.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered: "Lac. du Thun" (the L reversed).
A touched proof by Turner contains the following note in his handwriting:

"This will do. When the doz. is taken off—put out the dry point lines, add the few lines I have put in pencil in dry point. Crossed lines yet rather too strong."

These last words refer to certain lines on the sea under boats on left, and the outlines of the right side of mountains on left near centre which Turner has crossed in pencil. ALLEN ex Chas. Turner and Taylor.
Only two impressions of etching in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1804.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) An early proof in which mountains and lake are much lighter than afterwards. Etched lettering. COURTAULD ex Taylor. (*b*) Mountains and lake darker. BOSTON (2), one ex Short, other ex Knowles. (*c*) Touched; with lightning indicated with Chinese white. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins, Reiss, and Rawlinson. (*d*) Plate almost finished, before title, but otherwise lettered as in First State. Contains following note in Margin by Turner to engraver:

"Has Mr Macmillan any more of my blue paper? If not you can get some at Winchester's in the Strand, on your own account, that is, I do not want to have more bought or printed than will do for the next number. but if you will allow me I think that the plates had better be finished before the wrappers are printed. Respecting advertizing you know full well that everything ought to have been done long ago!! I have not seen a word in the papers. take it away from the *times*: if you can get advertized anywhere DO so. My rooms will close in a fortnight, the plates not done —not advertized, in short everything has conspired against the work."

The "blue paper" was that used for the wrappers of the parts in which "Liber Studiorum" was issued. ALLEN ex Chas. Turner and Taylor. (*e*) Lettered as First State, but before the clouds immediately above the broad band of light above distant mountains was lightened. HORNBY.

FIRST STATE

Initial and title in open capitals, with lines of equal thickness. Initial M is $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border line. "Proof" in faint italics in lower margin, beneath "Drawn &," and above M, in top margin. *Dovecotes III, VI.*
Script in lower margin has lines of equal thickness. *Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

SECOND STATE

Initial and title filled with horizontal lines and their outlines thickened on right. Downstrokes in publication line, etc., thickened. The graver has slipped on the right-hand lower curve of the second 8, in 1808, in publication line. "Proof" erased in both places.
The sharp line formed by lower edge of dark cloud, which runs across from second angle of lightning above mountain to a lower point of the mountain on extreme right, has now been softened.
Slight loss of crispness in modelling of clouds, but otherwise little inferior to I in depth and brilliance. *Dovecote VI. Auvergne and Dupuy I, II.*

THIRD STATE

Initial and title re-engraved, open as in First State. M is now $\frac{3}{16}$ in. above border line. No comma in title after "Thun." Title is now shifted about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. to right. Other lettering as in II.
The broad light band formed by the softened edge of dark cloud between lightning and cliff becomes more pronounced as the plate wears. *Dovecote V.*
No other difference. *T. Richard (a). Wove.*

16. THE FIFTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT

Issued in Part III.

16. THE FIFTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H
The 5th Plague of Egypt the Picture late in the possession of W.. Beckford Esqr
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.P
Engraved by C. Turner.
London Published June 10. 1808. by C. Turner Nº 50. Warren Street. Fitzroy Square..

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, 8.
The oil painting was exhibited R.A., 1800 (No. 206). It was bought by William Beckford, of Fonthill. It was sold during the Fonthill sale in August 1807, for 155 gns. It is now in the collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Bart.
A pen and ink study for the picture appears in "Dolbadarn" Sketch Book, T.B., XLVI, p. 79.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; 7×10. Lettered in top margin: "Late in the Possession of W. Becford Esq.", and in lower margin: "5th Plague of Egypt"; the capital L in "Late", two s's, in "Possession", and f and q, in "Becford Esq." are reversed.
Only four copies in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Early, with etched lettering. With note by Charles Turner: "As the Drawing was when I first received it. T." BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins and Rawlinson. (*b*) Similar, worked over by Turner in charcoal, ink, sepia, and white. BOSTON ex Stokes, Gambier Parry, and Rawlinson. (*c*) Nearly completed. Lower part of sky not darkened on left; distant mountains on left light; no dark rays in centre. All flashes of lightning are straight; one long flash strikes a pyramid near centre. Lettered as in First State, except that title reads: "Five Plagues of Egypt; a Picture late in the possession of W.. Beckton Esqr" —date in publication line is "May 20. 1808"—and both P's appear after the R.A. at end of artist's name. Touched by Turner, who has written in margin: "Make the lightning quite white. This is the best yet by far." J.E.T.A. ex Stokes and Taylor. A similar impression, not touched. HORNBY ex Stokes (*Dovecote VI*).

FIRST STATE

Initial H an open capital, with lines of equal thickness; just over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ in. above margin.
Lettered as above. Title in large script with lines of equal thickness; smaller script in lower margin ditto. "Proof" in faint italics near lower left corner, below "Drawn &." In earlier impressions traces remain of the second P, after R.A.
Sky on lower left and distant mountains darkened. Long flash of lightning taken out and many zigzag lines introduced. *Dovecotes IV, V, VI. Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

SECOND STATE

Right lines of H thickened and the two stems filled with horizontal lines.
All downstrokes in title and other lettering in lower margin thickened.
First P, after R.A., strengthened and second P re-engraved. "Proof" erased.
No re-work. *Dovecotes III, VI. Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

THIRD STATE

Initial re-engraved, and open, with lines of equal thickness, as in I.
Title re-engraved, with lines of equal thickness, but shifted to left. Stop added after Egypt, and "6 by 5" added after title.
No re-work. *T. Richard* (*b*). *Dovecote XII.*
Late impressions in very red ink. *Wove.*

(A worn late impression with pencil markings on upper left clouds and distant mountains is in the possession of Mr. J. Hutchinson ex Stokes.)

17. THE FARM-YARD WITH THE COCK

The First Plate in Part IV.

17. THE FARM-YARD WITH THE COCK

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P
Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner, Esq[r] R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Cha[s] Turner.
London, Published March 29, 1809, by C. Turner, N° 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy. Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, T.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. No lettering.
Six copies in the Turner Sale.

J. Whatman 1805.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Early. Before barrow was lightened. No light on cock's head, and before pig's head on right and second cart were darkened. Before letters. HORNBY. A similar proof, touched by Turner, has the following remarks :

"Very much improved. The cock is yet bad, and the Head of the Pig. Narrow the Head, make it blacker and then t'will do. Light upon the Cock's head—take the eye out if you can—it is too large."

BOSTON ex Chas. Turner, Stokes, Taylor, and Rawlinson. On another similar touched proof

Turner has written:

"Too much half tone shadow through the whole. You must endeavour to mass by making the straw light and sharp, the weeds lighter and the background cart lighter too. Relieve one cart from the other cart in shade. The barrow is the same strength of shade as the ground behind, therefore you must relieve it by sharp lights, the whole lighter with the Cock Hen and Pigs. Clear spirited lights upon them. The lights are only made with common chalk therefore will rub out";

and on roof of barn on right: "I have made this rather too dark." J.E.T.A. ex Taylor.
(*b*) Before letters. Far advanced, but before lights on straw, etc. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor.
(*c*) Complete, but before letters. ALLEN ex Horne.

FIRST STATE

Lines of all lettering in lower margin are of equal thickness.
In earlier impressions some dotted lines caused by the rocker, under "Etched by J. M. W. Turn—", are more distinct than in later ones.

Dovecotes III, VI, VII. Auvergne and Dupuy I.

SECOND STATE

Downstrokes of lettering in lower margin thickened. Graver has slipped below serif in last stroke of M, in "March."
Perhaps some slight re-work in sky. No additional lights on straw, but they have been heightened, notably in triangle at right lower corner.

Dovecotes II, III, VIII. Auvergne and Dupuy II, III.

THIRD STATE

Largely re-worked. See particularly heads and necks of the two pigs, and the different shapes of lights and darks in triangle at right lower corner. Fewer lights on straw than before.
In later impressions the etched top of upper spoke in wooden support on second cart is further exposed, through wear of mezzotinting which covered it.

Dovecotes X, XIV. T. Richard (a). Wove.

18. THE FALL OF THE CLYDE

Issued in Part IV.

Drawing [illegible] Poſſeſsion of [illegible]

18. THE FALL OF THE CLYDE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E. P. f i

Drawing of the CLYDE. In the possession of J. M. W. Turner. 3 2 4 3

Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.P.P.

Engraved by C. Turner.

London, Published March 29. 1809, by C. Turner, Nº 50. Warren Street, Fitzroy Squar.e.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, U.

Sketched during the Scottish tour of 1801. At least 3 drawings from nature were included in the "Smaller Fonthill" Sketch Book, T.B. XLVIII. Two are now in the National Gallery of Scotland; a third was exhibited at the Cotswold Gallery in 1923.

The water-colour, entitled "The Fall of the Clyde, Lanarkshire. Noon—*vide* Akenside's Hymn to the Naiads," was exhibited R.A., 1802 (No. 366). It is now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. It differs considerably from the engraving.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Lettered: "Drawing $\frac{3\ \text{Ft}}{2.}\ \frac{5\ \text{In}}{6\ \text{high}}$ Cylde Possession of J. M. W. T" (several of the letters are reversed).

Five impressions in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before rays of light were introduced. A bright light on head of fall and bathers on left are light, but rest of plate dark. ALLEN ex Stokes and Horne. (*b*) More lights on foliage on cliff above women, and on face of rock on left. Still before letters. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*c*) Paper scratched for lights in long lines across falls and beyond on right. Lettered as First State, except that "Drawing of the" and measurements are omitted. BOSTON ex Stokes, Gambier Parry, and Rawlinson. (*d*) Corrections carried out. New rays of light added at different angles above falls. Rays of light extended across face of cliff on left. Lights added on distance, on cliffs and foliage on right, and on figures. Same lettering. MISS E. STOPFORD BROOKE, BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor, DR. W. N. BULLARD, and NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY (touched). (*e*) Re-rocked on lower left. Rays of light removed from face of cliff on left. Foreground darkened and figures subdued. Heavy mass of shadow above them. Lines of light on upper fall removed and replaced by fewer and longer rays, parallel with oblique line of shadow on left. Sky and trees above fall and on right lightened. Touched with pencil above fall on right and on lower rays at base of fall, and "Drawing of the" and measurements written in pencil in margin by Turner. ALLEN.

FIRST STATE

Initials E. P. open capitals, with lines of equal thickness; under $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. above border line. Lines of script in lower margin, and "Clyde" (in open caps) are of equal thickness. *Dovecotes VI, VII.*

Lights on foliage above figures on left. *Auvergne and Dupuy II.*

SECOND STATE

Some strokes on right and left of E. P. thickened. Left strokes in "Clyde" thickened, and those on right of D and E. *Dovecotes II, IV, VII.*

No re-work. *Auvergne and Dupuy II.*

THIRD STATE

Same lettering as II, but entirely re-worked.

Rays of light more assertive than in I. Oblique shadow above left of figures is now very heavy and the lights on foliage have gone. Upper part of cliff on left with foliage on it is very dark, with fewer lights than before.

In late impressions, as the mezzotinting wore away, the lighter parts of the foliage left by the etching re-appeared. *Dupuy VII, IX. Wove.*

19. LITTLE DEVIL'S BRIDGE

Issued in Part IV.

19. LITTLE DEVIL'S BRIDGE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M^{s}
Little Devils Bridge over the Russ above Altdorft Swiss^{p}
Drawn and Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Chas Turner.
London Published March 29. 1809, by C. Turner, N° 50, Warren Street Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, V.
Sketched during the first Swiss tour in 1802. Drawings from nature of the Bridge are to be found in "St. Gothard and Mont Blanc," Sketch Book, T.B. LXXV, p. 36, and "Lake of Thun" Sketch Book, T.B. LXXVI, pp. 72, 73.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. No lettering. Only four copies in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1805.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Clouds flat and unfinished. BOSTON ex Stokes, WINTHROP ex Short. (*b*) Light all along top of bridge. COURTAULD ex Taylor. Touched for alterations. ALLEN ex Taylor. (*c*) Touched. Birds put in with Chinese white and sepia. Lights added on foreground tree-trunks, and lights above bridge on left scraped. Turner has written in margin:

"The Lights must be sharp and brilliant, particularly upon the front Trees, Bones, Rock, etc.; and if my Etching is in your way, viz. the Bird and top of the Tree, scrape out & beat up the Copper. Be careful about the distance. It wants air and light scraping to render it like the place."

BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*d*) Clouds lightened and birds added. Touched. BOSTON ex Taylor. (*e*) Birds burnished. Touched. Turner has written on right margin:

"Put a shade upon the top of the Bridge and under at the top of the Arch," and on lower margin: "This sky is much better but do not understand the spots amongst the Light part. A slight indication of a ray of bursting Light under the Bridge would improve that part, and a few sharp white touches upon the Leaves mark'd × because they are now two black spot[s] without connection with the stems of the Trees."

BOSTON ex Bale. All before letters. (*f*) Corrections carried out. Oblique rays of light added under arch. Lettered as First State, but without initial letter, and "Altdorft" is spelled "Alldorft." BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan, RYLANDS ex Lahee (*Dovecote VII*), BOSTON (2), LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, ALLEN (2), S. W. BROOKE, BROCKLEBANK ex Heywood Hawkins, COURTAULD ex Taylor, WINTHROP ex Bullard.

FIRST STATE

Initial letters and capitals in title open, with lines of equal thickness. *Dovecotes VI, VII. Auvergne and Dupuy I.*

SECOND STATE

Right-hand strokes in initials and capitals in title thickened.
Before any re-work.
Early impressions of this state are still very fine. *Dovecote III.*

THIRD STATE

Same lettering, but re-worked in right lower corner and on rocks in shadow on left. Edge of cast shadow on left (nearly level with top of bridge) is now straighter than before; note also marks of tool over left border line. Sky does not appear to have been re-worked, but as the plate wore stronger ink was used and the sky got muddier. *Dovecote XI. Wove.*

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ENGRAVER

MEZZOTINT. 9 × 12; 7 × 10$\frac{1}{8}$. Lettered: "M^{s} LITTLE DEVIL'S BRIDGE OVER THE RUSS ABOVE ALTDORFT SWISS^{d} From a drawing & Etching by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.P.P.", with publication lines as No. 2.
Published in Messrs. Day and Son's volume of "Selections."

BY T. LUPTON

ETCHING. 8$\frac{5}{16}$ × 11$\frac{7}{16}$; 7 × 10$\frac{1}{32}$. Some in black ink, clean-wiped, others in dark brown ink, with slight tone over paper. These have interlaced letters "E L" in lower left corner of plate. No lettering.

MEZZOTINT. 8$\frac{3}{8}$ × 11$\frac{9}{16}$; 7$\frac{1}{8}$ × 10$\frac{1}{8}$. Lettered: "S.M. LITTLE DEVIL'S BRIDGE, over the RUSS (above) ALLDORFT SWISS^{d} Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. London, Pub^{d} Jany 1858, by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. 13 & 14, Pall Mall East, & The Engraver, 4, Keppel St. W.C." *Proof. Pl.* 2.

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. 8$\frac{15}{16}$ × 11$\frac{7}{8}$; 7 × 10. Signed "F.S." (in monogram on shield), and date "'85." Lettered: "Frank Short, sculp., after J. M. W. Turner."

MEZZOTINT. 9 × 12; 7$\frac{1}{16}$ × 10$\frac{1}{16}$. First State. Signed and lettered as etching.
Second State. Publication line added, "1st June 1886."

STRANGE, No. 40.

20. THE LEADER SEA PIECE

Called also THE GUARD-SHIP AT THE NORE.
Issued in Part IV.

20. THE LEADER SEA PIECE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
Original Sketch of a Picture for W„ Leader Esq.
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Chas Turner.
London Published March 29. 1809. by C. Turner, N° 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{3}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST.
There is no record of the existence of this picture.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Lettered: "Possession of Wm Leader Esqr"
Only three copies in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before light clouds in centre, and before two distant boats were added. Before all letters. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan (*Dovecote II*), and BOSTON (2). (*b*) Completed, and lettered as First State, except that initial M is absent. BOSTON ex Rawlinson, and another (touched). COURTAULD ex Cathcart.
The present owner is not known of a touched proof which appeared in the Heywood Hawkins sale.

FIRST STATE

Initial letter M an open capital, with strokes of equal thickness ; $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and $\frac{3}{16}$ in. above border line. *Dovecotes II, V, VI, VII, VIII.*

Title in large script with strokes of equal thickness. *Auvergne I, III.*

SECOND STATE

Right strokes of initial M and downstrokes of title thickened.

Flag of nearest boat re-rocked and darkened in part, but no other re-work.

Dovecotes II, XI. Dupuy II, III. Smith 1802.

(An impression touched on mast of ship. J.E.T.A. ex Taylor.)

THIRD STATE

Same lettering, but sea, sailing-boat, and parts of sky re-worked. *Dovecote XII. Wove.*

COPY OF PORTION

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

MEZZOTINT. $4\frac{1}{4} \times 6$; $3\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{16}$. Lettered : "Fragment from 'The Guard-Ship at the Nore.' Frank Short sc. after J. M. W. Turner."

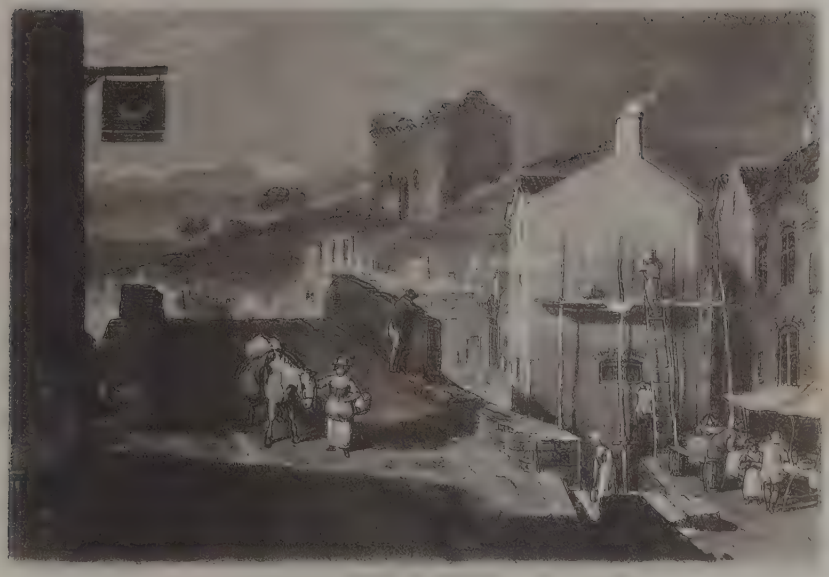
Published in "Notes on the Liber Studiorum of J. M. W. Turner, R.A." by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, M.A., 1885.

STRANGE, No. 48.

21. MORPETH

Issued in Part IV.

Mouvedi.



21. MORPETH

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A

MORPETH NORTH^{D}

Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.P.P.

Engraved by Chas Turner.

London, Published March 29. 1809, by C. Turner, N° 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, Y.

Sketched in 1801. The pencil drawing from nature is in the "Helmsley" Sketch Book, T.B., LIII, pp. 31*a*, 32.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Lettered: "Morpeth, North^{lb}".

Only four in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1805.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before lights on gable of house on right. Etched title. BOSTON. (*b*) A little later, touched by Turner, who has written the following in lower margin:

"I think the whole sky would be better a tone lighter, besides the light clouds lighter, wh[ich] will make the hill more solid. The Whitewasht House cannot be too white or the linen upon the

stall. The Etching line at the corner of the House must be fainter and some bright bits upon the tiling of Houses."

Etched title. BOSTON ex Chas. Turner and Taylor. (*c*) Corrections carried out and etched, title erased. BOSTON (2), one of them drawn upon by Turner, the other ex Addington and Rawlinson. (*d*) Before letters, and before many high lights on side of white house on right. BROCKLEBANK ex Stokes.

FIRST STATE

Initial and title in open capitals, with lines of equal thickness.

Dovecote VI. Auvergne and Dupuy I, II.

SECOND STATE

Same lettering. Standing figure by house on opposite bank of river lightened.

Dovecotes VI, XI. Dupuy I.

THIRD STATE

Right-hand strokes of initial and title thickened ; downstrokes of other lettering thickened. Lights are generally lighter, particularly on house with scaffolding.

Dovecote VI. Dupuy II, III.

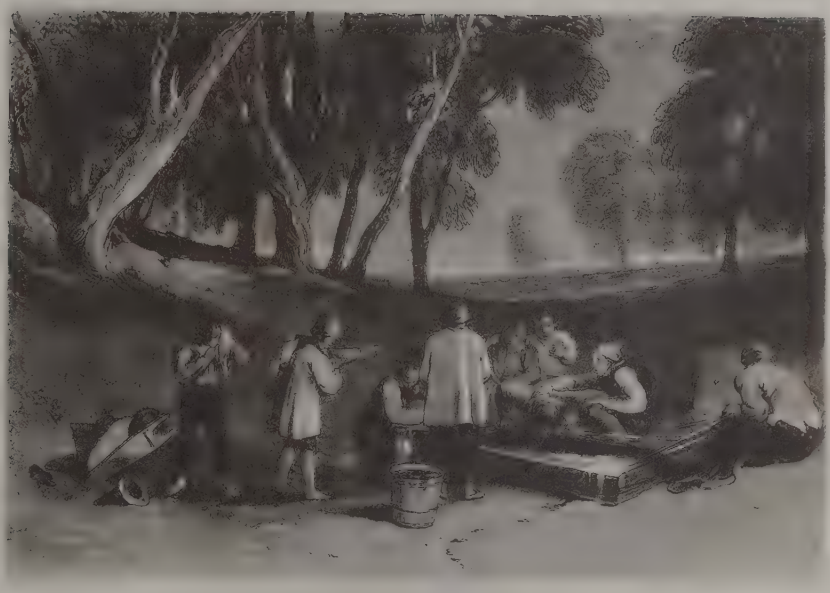
FOURTH STATE

Same lettering as III

Sky heavy and dull. Some re-work in nearer shadows ; notably on shadow under stall on right. *Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

22. JUVENILE TRICKS

First Plate in Part V.



22. JUVENILE TRICKS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

JUVENILE TRICKS
Drawn & Etched. by by J. M. W. Turner, R.A.
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.
Published Jan.y 1, 1811, by M.r Turner, Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVI, Z.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$.

FIRST STATE. One at BRITISH MUSEUM (touched) and another at BOSTON ex Rawlinson.

SECOND STATE. Many lines added in dry-point. Trunk of second tree from right extended to upper margin. Foliage on farther tree more fully indicated.

Nine impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1809.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Flat and unfinished. Distant buildings faintly indicated. BOSTON ex Say and Rawlinson.

(*b*) Buildings defined. Lights added on sky, trees, figures, and foreground. BRITISH

MUSEUM (2) (*Dovecote III and Auvergne I*), ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor, and BOSTON.
All before letters.

FIRST STATE

Initial and title in open capitals, with lines of equal thickness. *J. Whatman* 1806.
H. Smith.

SECOND STATE

Same lettering, but mark resembling a capital H added in lower left-hand corner.
No re-work. *H. Smith.*

THIRD STATE

Dot added in bow of initial P. Otherwise same lettering and mark as II.
No re-work. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

23. THE TEMPLE OF MINERVA MEDICA

Generally called HINDOO DEVOTIONS *and*
THE HINDOO WORSHIPPER.
Issued in Part V.

23. THE TEMPLE OF MINERVA MEDICA

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

EP
Draw.n & Etched by J M W Turner R.A P P
Engraved by R Dunkarton
Published Jany 1 1811 by Mr Turner Queen Ann Street

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$8 \times 10\frac{13}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, A.
Turner always called this subject "Minerva Medica."
As he had not visited Rome when this drawing was made, he probably took the view of the temple from an engraving. There is a nearly similar view in Piranesi's "Views of Rome" (HIND, No. 74).
The so-called temple is now generally regarded as a Nymphaeum of the Horti Liciniani. The centre of the dome collapsed in 1828.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. No lettering. Thirteen impressions in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky even in tone, few clouds indicated. Sky mottled. BOSTON (2), one ex Hawkins (1904) and Rawlinson, and one (touched) ex Stokes and Taylor. (*b*) More advanced and

darker. Before letters. BRITISH MUSEUM (2), one ex Vaughan, and one ex Beckford. (*c*) Before horizon was lightened, and before lights in sky above hill on right and ruined temple. Lettered as First State. FAWKES. (*d*) Three lettered as First State but showing slight differences from that state. BOSTON.

FIRST STATE

No mark in margin.
Few horizontal lines of light in upper sky. Sunset effect.
Very rare. *J. Whatman.*

SECOND STATE

Still no mark in margin.
Sky entirely altered. Right half of upper sky filled with long diagonal lines of light on clouds sloping downward towards the right. Effect changed to that of sunrise. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Two irregular marks resembling a capital H in left and right lower margins.
No re-work. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

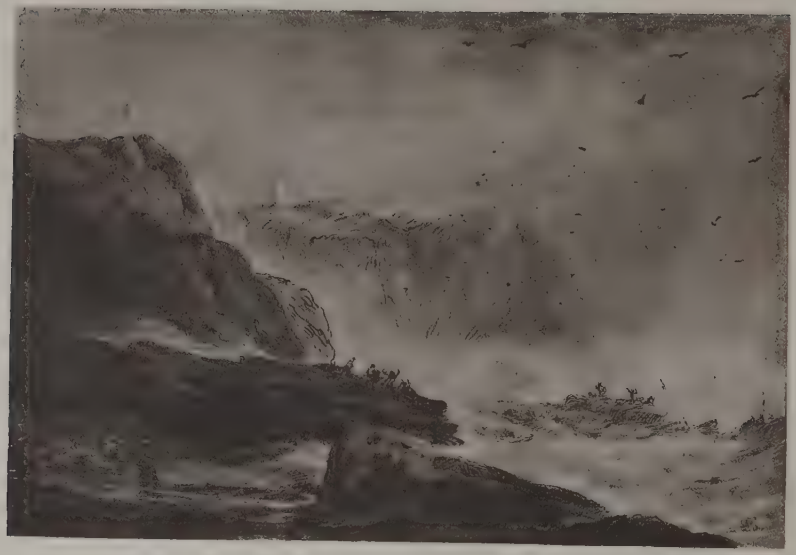
Same marks, but horizontal line of light added on masonry at water's edge on right, and light added on left side of small fragment of masonry near centre foreground.
Wove. Laid.

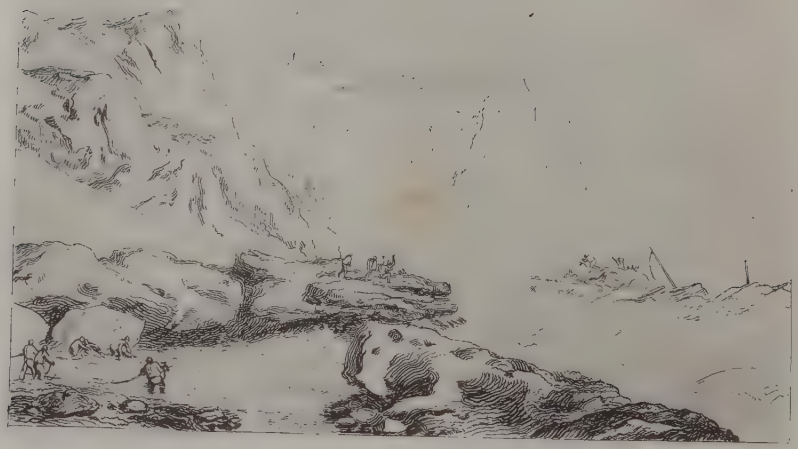
FIFTH STATE

Same marks in margin, but dot added in bow of initial P. *Dupuy IX.*
No further re-work. *Wove.*

24. COAST OF YORKSHIRE

Issued in Part V.





24. COAST OF YORKSHIRE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
COAST OF YORKSHIRE. near Whitby.
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.
Engraved by W Say Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.
Published Jany 1. 1811, by Mr Turner, Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, B.
Sketched on the way to Scotland, 1801. The drawing from nature is now in the Ruskin Drawing School, Oxford, No. 141.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7 \times 10\frac{5}{16}$.
FIRST STATE. Some lines on distant cliff on left missing. Black ink. Touched. BRITISH MUSEUM.
SECOND STATE. Lines added on cliff.
Six impressions in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before wreckage in right lower corner. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*b*) Wreckage

added. Before letters. BRITISH MUSEUM (2), one ex Pye, and one presented by Frederick Say, BOSTON ex Stokes and Whitehead.
The present owner is not known of a proof before letters, once in Mr. Rawlinson's collection, ex Say.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Lights on lighthouse, clouds, sea, and surf intensified. Gull added in sky near base of cliff on right. *H. Smith.*

SECOND STATE

A cross made with dotted lines in lower left corner of margin, about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. above plate-mark. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

An upright dotted line added to mark, making it like an irregular capital H.
In early impressions very little worn. Surf in centre and driving up cliffs rather more clearly made out than before; also foam on waves to right of cliff. Lights on men in left foreground, waves around them and in right foreground, rather sharper than before.
A light line, probably an accidental scratch, now appears near summit of cliff a little to right of centre. *Wove. T. Richard (b).*

FOURTH STATE

Same mark in margin as III; dot added in centre of O in YORKSHIRE in title.
Fresh lines of surf added above group in centre, and driving up cliff to left of kneeling figure on right. *Dovecote XIV. Wove.*

25. HIND HEAD HILL

Issued in Part V.

25. HIND HEAD HILL

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
HIND HEAD HILL. On the Portsmouth Road
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. P.P.
Engraved by Dunkarton
Published Jany 1. 1811, by Mr Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, C. brown, dark and v. dark
Sketched in November, 1807, on the return journey from Portsmouth. The pencil sketch of Hind Head Hill is to be found in the "Spithead" Sketch Book, T.B., C, p. 49*a*.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. No lettering. Thirteen impressions in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky dark; no rays of light breaking upwards. Touched. BOSTON ex Stokes and Rawlinson. (*b*) Rays of light faintly indicated, and light at base of fire added; sky unfinished and gibbet unaltered. ALLEN ex Taylor, and BOSTON. (*c*) Sky still unfinished; lower clouds in centre and on left not added. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. All before letters. (*d*) Lettered as First State. Finished but for some slight additions to sky and before gibbet

was altered. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM ex Dr. Percy, MISS E. STOPFORD BROOKE, BOSTON (2), one ex Rawlinson, and HORNBY ex Buccleuch.

FIRST STATE

Initial an open capital, with right-hand strokes thicker than left. No mark in margin.
Outline of gallows softened by addition of dry-point above cross-piece. Bands of white clouds added behind gallows. High light on brook in extreme left intensified.
H. Smith 1802.

SECOND STATE

Mark resembling a cross made with dots now added in left lower margin.
Slightly worn, but very fine. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

A single line now inserted within the two thicker members of initial M; and an upright line added to mark, bringing it into resemblance with a capital H.
Generally lighter through wear. Several lights added in sky, viz., a light cloud crossing dark clouds just to right of centre, and several light streaks running downward on extreme right; also a light streak running horizontally across sky about 2½ in. above hills on left.
Still fine. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

Initial and mark as in III; dot added in D of HEAD in title.
Fire enlarged and lights added to left on lower part of hillock and on ground to right of centre groups of sheep. Several fresh streaks of light added above hills on left.
Effect still fine in early impressions.
Generally printed in redder ink. *Dupuy. Wove.*

(Mr. Rawlinson gives a Fifth State, distinguished by "a stroke in both the thick members of the initial letter M." These strokes characterize the Third State given above.)

26. LONDON FROM GREENWICH

Issued in Part V.

26. LONDON FROM GREENWICH

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A
LONDON, from GREENWICH
Picture in the possession of Walter Fawkes Esq.r of Farnley. 3ft. by 4ft.
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner R A P P
Engraved by C. Turner.
Published Jany 1 1811 by Mr Turner Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, D.
The oil painting, which once belonged to Mr. Walter Fawkes, is now in the National Gallery, No. 483.
The pencil drawing from nature upon which the picture was based is also in the Turner Bequest (CXX, N). It is reproduced in "Turner's Sketches and Drawings" (FINBERG), Plate XXX.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Lettered: "In the Possession of Walter Fawkes Esq.r Farnley."
J. Whatman 1805.
According to Mr. Rawlinson Turner wrote the following note on one of the impressions of the etching :
"The Etching to be added between the Cupola the same strength as the distance and the few lines

against the trees to be scraped if possible. 50 to be taken off tomorrow and sent to Hammersmith immediate" (W.G.R., p. 229).

It would be rash to conclude that the "50" referred to here were impressions of the etching. Additional etched lines were frequently added in the course of the mezzotinting. In that case the "50" required would be impressions of the engraving, not the etching.
There were twenty-two impressions of this etching in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky flat. Worked on by Turner in pencil and white. He has written in margin: "Water about the Chimneys pure white and the smoke near St. Pauls very light." BOSTON ex Charles Turner, Heywood Hawkins, Rawlinson, and Taylor. (*b*) Sky near horizon lightened. Cumulus clouds faintly defined. Drawn upon by Turner. BOSTON ex Hippisley and Taylor. (*c*) Before reflections of ships in middle distance; before small white sail between cupolas, and before two small figures in centre middle distance. Many lights on trees and in foreground; before all foreground was darkened and simplified. Before letters. J.E.T.A. ex Taylor. (*d*) Completed, except lettering. BOSTON ex Francis Stevenson.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Before lights were added on the two figures in middle distance near the centre, and before high lights on the four deer in the foreground to the left, and on the curly weed in foreground above the word "by", in "Drawn & Etched by".
Very rare. *J. Whatman* 1806.

SECOND STATE

Still before any mark in margin.
Lights added on figures in middle distance, on deer, and in left foreground.
J. Whatman 1806.

THIRD STATE

Mark resembling a capital H in left lower corner of margin.
Still very fine. " *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

Same mark in margin, but dot added in middle of the first O in LONDON in title.
Late worn impressions are in redder ink. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

(A light curved scratch in sky over St. Paul's appears in all states, becoming more pronounced as the plate wears. There is also a smaller scratch on right of plate which appears in all impressions.)

27. WINDMILL AND LOCK

First Plate in Part VI.

27. WINDMILL AND LOCK

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

FROM A PICTURE IN THE POSSESSION OF I. M. W. TURNER R.A.
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.I.H. the Duke of Glocester
Published June 1. 1811, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing is known for this plate. An impression of the etching worked in sepia for the use of the engraver is now in the National Gallery of British Art. (HERE REPRODUCED.) The oil painting is now in the collection of Sir Herbert Cook, Bart.
The pencil drawing from nature upon which the picture was based is in the "Windmill and Lock" Sketch Book, T.B., CXIV, pp. 72*a*-73. It is reproduced in "Turner's Sketches and Drawings" (FINBERG), Plate XXVII(*a*).

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.
FIRST STATE. Under-bitten. Drawn upon in pencil by Turner. BOSTON ex Rawlinson.
SECOND STATE. Outline of horse corrected and completed, and lines on bridge, masonry, and lock strengthened.
Mr. Allen has an impression inscribed by the engraver "Acquafortis W. Say."

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before sun was enlarged. ALLEN ex Say, Stokes, and Horne, BOSTON ex Rawlinson. (*b*) Sun enlarged. Sky round sun bright. Many clouds added in upper sky. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Say, ALLEN ex W. Say, BOSTON (2) one ex Say, Buccleuch and Lees, the other, ex Say and Taylor. All before letters.

A touched proof was lent to the B.F.A. Club's Exhibition of 1872, by Mr. John Heugh.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.

Tone throughout deepened. Sky below sun, and horse, darkened. *H. Smith.*

SECOND STATE

Mark resembling a capital H, about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below right lower angle of plate, but faint. *H. Smith. Dupuy VI.*

THIRD STATE

A cross added in first O of POSSESSION in title. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

COPY

BY T. LUPTON.

ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 9\frac{15}{16}$. Slight tint over surface of plate. Some foul-biting over right side of lock. No lettering. *J. Whatman* 1846.

MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Some impressions with no lettering. Others lettered: "WIND MILL & LOCK. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. Proof."

28. JUNCTION OF SEVERN AND WYE

Issued in Part VI.

28. JUNCTION OF SEVERN AND WYE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E P
Drawn. Etched & Engraved by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.
Published June 1811, by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, E.
Probably based on sketches made in 1798; see "Hereford Court" and "Dinevor Castle" Sketch Books, T.B., XXXVIII and XL.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Sky badly scratched. Beginnings of mezzotint rocking on bank at left and on trees below Castle.
Ten impressions in the Turner Sale, one damaged.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) General effect blocked in. Sky all in aquatint; remainder of plate mezzotinted, possibly over aquatint. Lights on estuary and in sky. ALLEN ex Stopford Brooke and Knowles. (*b*) Whole of plate except sky re-rocked. ALLEN ex Stokes, Irvine Smith, and Murray. A second proof apparently in same condition was in the Taylor collection; present owner unknown. (*c*) Before distant sea on right was lightened, and before lights on walls of Castle. BRITISH

MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*d*) Touched. Distance lightened on plate, but distant land on left darkened with sepia. Walls of Castle lightened; also cliffs above castle and upper parts of land in middle distance on left. Lights added in foreground above shadow of figure, and on left of ground above his head. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye.
All before letters.
A touched impression lettered as First State has the whole of the foreground and middle distance darkened with sepia; sky also darkened, possibly with sepia. MISS E. STOPFORD BROOKE.
This impression was exhibited, B.F.A. Club's Exhibition, 1872, by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, when it was described as a "touched Proof (with trees and foreground washed over)." It is not certain, however, that it should be classed as an Engraver's proof; it may be merely an impression of the First State washed over, experimentally, by Turner.

FIRST STATE
Before any mark in margin. *Wove.*
(I have seen one impression of a late First State in which light wisps of clouds have been inserted in dry-point over lower centre of sky. ALLEN ex Pocock.)

SECOND STATE
A faint mark resembling a small capital H, about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below right lower corner of plate.
Still very fine. *Dovecote IX. Dupuy.*

THIRD STATE
Same mark in margin, with dot added in bow of initial P.
Still fine in early impressions, as Turner's mezzotinting wore well. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

COPY

Thomas Lupton is said to have begun a copy, which, however, was not finished. Some impressions of the etching are said to be in existence, but I have not seen one.

29. MARINE DABBLERS

Issued in Part VI.

29. MARINE DABBLERS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
MARINE DABBLERS
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester
Published June 1811, by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West::

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING
$6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, F.

ETCHING
$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Fourteen impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.
FIRST STATE. Group of two fishermen and boats on right quite different from those in next state. Little work on foreground, sea and boat on left, and no shading on foreground figures. Written in pencil in margin by Turner: "Will send for it again this afternoon." ALLEN ex W. Say.
SECOND STATE. The two figures and boats on right entirely redrawn. Work added on foreground, on sea, and shading added on boat on left and boys' figures. On an impression in Mr. Allen's collection there is written in pencil in margin by W. Say: "Drawn and etched by J. M. W. Turner" and "Acquafortis by W. Say"; at foot in centre: "Composition."

Two states of etching are mentioned in Bullard catalogue, but they do not appear to agree with the above. They seem to be two states of our Second State.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky mottled. Cumulus clouds faintly edged with light. In margin, in pencil, the same remarks by W. Say as on Mr. Allen's etching. BOSTON. (*b*) Before high lights on distant sea and two sails in centre. Before lights were heightened on figures, foreground, sky, etc. STOPFORD W. BROOKE. (*c*) Lights strengthened on figures. Before letters. BOSTON ex Rawlinson and BRITISH MUSEUM.

FIRST STATE

Before dot in centre of D in title.
Sails added in distance, and lights in foreground. *J. Whatman* 1810.
Later impressions are on laid paper. *Dovecotes XI, XV.*

SECOND STATE

Dot added in centre of D in title. *Laid. Wove.*

30. NEAR BLAIR ATHOL

Issued in Part VI.

30. NEAR BLAIR ATHOL

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

NEAR BLAIR ATHOL SCOTLAND

Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.

Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester

Published June 1 1811, by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, G.
Sketched during Turner's Scottish tour in summer of 1801. There are several pencil sketches in this neighbourhood in the "Scotch Lakes" Sketch Book (T.B., LVI); that on pp. 116a-117 seems to have formed the basis of this design.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7 \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Fourteen impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1809.
An early state, before strokes slanting from left to right on rocks at left of gorge in background, is mentioned in the Bullard Catalogue. BOSTON ex Rawlinson.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before water in foreground was darkened, and before bright lights on stream in upper glen. BOSTON ex Say, Taylor, and Rawlinson. (*b*) Water darkened, rocks modelled. Series

of square dots placed diagonally down side of big rock near angler. BOSTON ex Say and Stopford Brooke, BRITISH MUSEUM (3), two touched by Turner, one ex Pye and one ex Vaughan, the third ex Say. All before letters.

FIRST STATE

Before mark in margin. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Small capital H, very faint, about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below the e in "Duke," in right lower margin. Later impressions on laid paper. *Wove. Dupuy VI.*

THIRD STATE

Same mark, with dot added in O of SCOTLAND in title. *Laid. Wove.*

(According to Mr. Rawlinson the Third State contains a dot in the O of "Athol" in title, as well as in O of "Scotland." I have never seen an impression with a dot in the O of "Athol.")

COPY

BY AN UNKNOWN ENGRAVER.

MEZZOTINT. 9 × 12; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$. Lettered: "M NEAR BLAIR ATHOL, SCOTLAND. From a drawing & etching by J. M. W. Turner. Esq. R.A.", with publication lines as in copy of No. 2. Published in Messrs. Day and Son's volume of "Selections."

31. LAUFFENBOURGH ON THE RHINE

Issued in Part VI.

31. LAUFFENBOURGH ON THE RHINE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A
LAUFFENBOURGH on the RHINE
Drawn. & Etched by J. M. W. Turner. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by T Hodgetts
Published Jany 1. 1811, by Mr Turner, Queen Ann Street, West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8 \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, H.
Sketched during Turner's first Swiss tour, in 1802. The pencil drawing on which this design is based is in the "Fonthill" Sketch Book, T.B., XLVII, p. 28.

ETCHING

$7\frac{15}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Lettered at foot: "Lauffuenbourg."
Seven impressions in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky broadly treated. Subdued light on town. Water dark. Etched lettering. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. A second impression at BOSTON, worked on by Turner.
(*b*) No light bands in sky and no high lights on water. Same lettering. BRITISH MUSEUM

etched rock details etc very 3d as also in [illegible] state

ex Pye, and ALLEN ex Brocklebank. (*c*) Light bands of clouds added in sky above and below bridge. Lettered as in First State. BOSTON, and ALLEN ex Harland Peck.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Bands of cloud lightened. *H. Smith* 1802.

SECOND STATE

Mark resembling a cross, made with dotted lines, in left lower corner of margin. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Dotted line added, making the cross somewhat like a capital H.
No re-work. Lines of light in sky as in I and II. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Same mark. Additional lines of light in upper part and centre of sky.
Later impressions on laid paper. *Wove. Dupuy VI.*

FIFTH STATE

Same mark, with dot added in O of LAUFFENBOURGH in title. *Dupuy IX.*

SIXTH STATE

Same marks. White sail added on distant reach of river. Some scratched lines in sky to left of clump of trees over houses on right and level with their tops. *Laid. Wove.*

32. YOUNG ANGLERS

Called also by Turner BOYS FISHING. JEW'S HARP.
First Plate in Part VII.

32. YOUNG ANGLERS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

YOUNG ANGLERS
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner
Engraved by R. Dunkarton
Published June 1. 1811 by I. M. W. Turner Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, 1.
The "Jew's Harp" was a tavern in Love Lane, Marylebone Fields, now part of Regent's Park. Marylebone Fields were within a few minutes' walk of Turner's house in Queen Anne Street.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Fourteen impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Clouds faintly indicated. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor, BOSTON ex Rawlinson. (*b*) Clouds upper left only faintly indicated. Before upright lines on front of bandage on centre boy's head. Before foreground and vegetation were lightened. No high lights on leg of standing boy, and before etched lines completing eaves of roof and enlarging gable of building on left.

Before letters. Touched. V. RIENAECKER ex Stokes. (*c*) Clouds at upper left defined. Before letters. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *Wove. H. Smith* 1802.

SECOND STATE

A single vertical stroke in right lower margin below the final "n" in "Dunkarton." Little inferior to I. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Another stroke added to left of previous one; a dot between them converts the mark into a sort of capital H.
Sky heavy and dull through wear. *H. Smith* 1802. *Dovecotes X, XI. Wove.*

33. ST. CATHERINE'S HILL NEAR GUILDFORD

Issued in Part VII.

St Catharine's Hill near Guilford

33. ST. CATHERINE'S HILL NEAR GUILDFORD

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E P
S^T. CATHERINE'S HILL NEAR GUILFORD
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.
Engraved by J. C. Easling
Published June 1811, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, J.
Sketched on the return journey from Portsmouth, November 1807, where Turner had gone to see the captured Danish fleet brought in. See "Spithead" Sketch Book, T.B., c, p. 73*a*. "Hind Head Hill" (25) and "The Water Mill" (37) were also sketched on the same journey.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered in lower margin: "St. Catharine's Hill near Guilford."
Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky, hill, and ruin light. Clouds broadly treated. Worked on by Turner with white and sepia. Etched title. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor. (*b*) Sky dark and unfinished.

General effect flat. Etched title. ALLEN ex Pocock. (*c*) Largely re-rocked. Before high lights in sky or on road. Etched title. A. E. WILSON-BROWNE. (*d*) Clouds completed and brightened. Etched title. BOSTON ex Rawlinson. (*e*) Completed and lettered as First State, except that artist's name is twice given as "T. M. W. Turner" and engraver's name is spelled "Essling." H. STEWART BROWN, and L. D. HOLT. (*f*) Engraver's name altered to "Easling." HORNBY.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Cross-pieces of T, in artist's names, partially obliterated, with marks of burnisher visible.
H. Smith 1802.

SECOND STATE

Two vertical strokes (which look like a single line to the naked eye) added under the "g" in "Easling."
Often fine. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Lines added to left of previous ones, with slight scratch between them, forming an irregular capital H. *J. Whatman* 1809. *H. Smith* 1808.
Still good in early impressions. *T. Richard* (*b*). *Dupuy IX*. *Wove.*

34. MARTELLO TOWERS NEAR BEXHILL, SUSSEX

Issued in Part VII.

Martello Towers near Bexhill

34. MARTELLO TOWERS NEAR BEXHILL, SUSSEX

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

MARTELLO TOWERS NEAR BEXHILL, SUSSEX
Drawn & Etched by T. M. W. Turner Esq.r R.A.
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester
Published June 1811, by T. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, K.
Probably sketched about 1806.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Lettered: "Martello Towers near Bexhill."
Fourteen impressions in the Turner Sale.
Two states are given in the Bullard catalogue. In the second, the foreground at right is said to be rebitten.
Mr. Allen's impression is inscribed by the engraver: "Acquafortis W. Say."

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Dark bars of cloud above nearest tower. Before etched work on rocks on right was

covered with mezzotint. Etched lettering. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford, J.E.T.A. ex Taylor (touched) (*J. Whatman* 1810). (*b*) Harsh transitions in clouds. Some lights added on rolling clouds on left of centre. Rocks on right darkened. Etched lettering. BRITISH MUSEUM ex F. Say, BOSTON ex Rawlinson, and another in private hands ex Taylor. (*c*) Lower edges of rolling clouds above thunder-cloud on left are in long streaming lines. Thunder-cloud is darker above the three nearest towers than on left. Lettered as First State. ALLEN ex Horne.

FIRST STATE

Thunder-cloud on left lightened above three nearest towers. Nearest line of surf in bay is the brightest; it undulates and is broken. The second line above it is lower in tone and more broken, showing several distinct wave forms below the third tower from left.
In late impressions marks of burnisher appear on the cross-piece of first T in artist's name.
J. Whatman 1810.

SECOND STATE

Thunder-cloud on left darkened; its upper edges differ from those in I, and tell sharply against the dark rounded clouds above.
The second faint broken line of surf below third tower is now covered by a thicker and brighter line. Above this line, below the space between the fourth and fifth towers from the left, is another straight white line running into the second light curve from the shore. A third curve of foam continuing an etched line runs into this line below the fourth tower from the right.
Marks of the burnisher on cross-piece of first T in artist's name.
(This has hitherto been regarded as the First State.) *J. Whatman* 1810.

THIRD STATE

A thin light line of foam now runs across the sea above the two earlier lines to within $\frac{1}{8}$ in. of left border-line.
The white lines added in II have now worn. A broken curved line of surf is now added near shore. Fresh lights added on sea immediately above boat and figure on shore, below what was the first line of surf.
Fresh lights added on houses and on hill below distant village to right of centre. Ground at foot of nearest tower and between tower and cliff on right is lightened.
Thunder-cloud worn, thus softening transition of its upper edges. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

The thin light line of surf running across centre of bay, added in III, is now enlarged and made whiter. The two light curves near shore in centre lightened. Thunder-cloud more worn; it now melts gradually into clouds above.
J. Whatman 1809. *Dovecote XI. T. Richard* (*b*). *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

35. INVERARY PIER

Issued in Part VII.

35. INVERARY PIER

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

INVERARY-PIER. LOCH FYNE. MORNING.
Drawn Etched & Engraved by I. M. W. Turner R.A.
Published June 1. 1811, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

No sepia drawing is known for this plate.
The subject was sketched in 1801. A faded water-colour of this subject is in the Turner Bequest, LX, 3, and there are some pencil sketches in "Scotch Lakes" Sketch Book, T.B., LVI.

FIRST ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{11}{16}$; $7 \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. This differs in many details from the etching in the engraved plate; for instance, the distant mountain just to right of centre is higher and placed more to the left. No lettering. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND ETCHING

Mr. Rawlinson's description is as follows: "Buoy on right added. Shadows mentioned above (*i.e.*, of boat on left and of anchor) continued to margin of plate. More work on wall

and foreground." I have not been fortunate enough to see an impression of this etching, nor have I met anyone who has seen an impression.
In the Turner Sale catalogue fourteen impressions of the etching are recorded; seven of these being described as of the First State, six of the Second State, and one unspecified.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Aquatint on sky and on distant mountains, covered in part with slight mezzotint. Only one boat on farther shore. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Stokes and Vaughan, BOSTON. (*b*) Sky developed, and modelling added on mountains. Dark sail-boat in right distance and buoy in right foreground added. Touched. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. Also touched, and lettered by hand, "Iverary Pier" and "Drawn, Etched, and Engraved by J. M. W. Turner." COURTAULD ex Stokes, Addington, and Taylor. (*c*) Sky lightened, and small white sail faintly indicated to left of dark boat. Dark spot on beach turned into a stone. BOSTON ex Hawkins (1904). All before letters. (*d*) Similar to (*c*) but lettered as in First State. RYLANDS ex J. Heywood Hawkins. (*e*) Layer of mist added over distant water. Small white sail enlarged. Lettered as First State. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor. (*f*) Distant water down to foreground and boat overlaid with fresh mezzotint. Same lettering. V. AND A. MUSEUM ex Dr. Percy. (*g*) Enlarged white sail reduced in tone. Before bird. Lettered as before. BRITISH MUSEUM, BOSTON ex Stevenson and Rawlinson, J.E.T.A. ex Taylor. (*h*) Enlarged sail darkened. Two small white sails added in right distance above buoy. Before gull. Lettered as before. BOSTON ex Taylor.
Several of the lettered impressions (*d*)-(*h*), referred to above, appear to have been issued to subscribers. See Note, p. 3, Catalogue, B.F.A. Club's Exhibition of 1882.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Flying gull added above and to left of buoy, but before light reflections of bird in water.
Very rare. *H. Smith* 1802.

SECOND STATE

Light reflections of gull added on ripples above buoy. A light line added to left of dark reflection in centre of sail of nearest boat. Lights in water intensified.
Still before any mark in margin. *H. Smith* 1802.
Very rare.

THIRD STATE

Faint scratches resembling a small arrow-head added about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. to left of and below right lower border-line.
Rare. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H.
Worn, but no re-work and still fine. *H. Smith* 1802.

FIFTH STATE

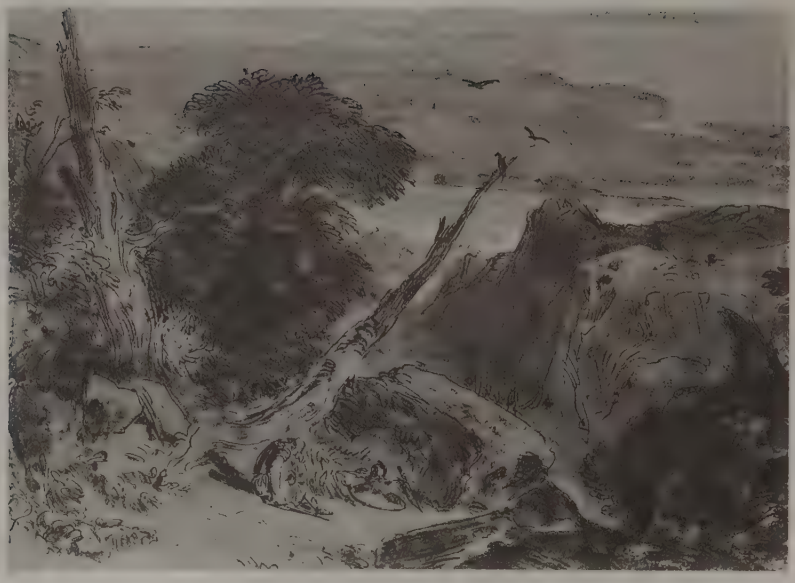
Same mark in margin.
Sky and mountains on right re-worked. Many horizontal clouds added, and summit of distant hill to right of centre mast darkened. *J. Whatman* 1809. *Dupuy IX.*

SIXTH STATE

Same mark in margin.
Re-worked all over, apparently in aquatint on sky and mountain on right. Fewer clouds in sky than in V. Gull removed. Contours of mountains altered. A hard perpendicular line of shade now runs down from peak of nearest mountain.
Dovecote XIV. T. Richards (*a*). *Wove.*

36. FROM SPENSER'S FAIRY QUEEN

Issued in Part VII.



36. FROM SPENSER'S FAIRY QUEEN

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H
FROM SPENSER'S FAIRY QUEEN
Drawn & Etched by T. M. W. Turner Esq[r] R.A.
Engraved by T. Hodgetts
Published June 1811, by T. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, L.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. No summit to peak on right. No lettering.
Fourteen impressions in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Before summit of peak was added. Before letters. BOSTON ex Parry and Rawlinson. — superb tones
Another proof before letters was in the Taylor collection. — [illegible]

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Summit of peak shows clearly above light line in sky; a faint etched outline round it in parts only.
J. Whatman 1810.

a king bird ? to add to magic of atmosphere

SECOND STATE

Still before any mark in margin.
First T in publication line altered to I. First T in artist's name altered to I, but marks of burnisher are evident.
Mezzotint on summit of peak worn. In some impressions it can hardly be distinguished from the clouds around it. *H. Smith* 1802.

THIRD STATE

A single vertical stroke under "et" in "Hodgetts."
Summit of peak re-mezzotinted and a different outline etched round it. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

Mark in margin altered to an irregular capital H. The mezzotinting on the summit soon wore away, but the etched outline stood. In later impressions its filling is lighter than the clouds beyond.
Some re-work. *H. Smith* 1808. *Dovecote XII. Dupuy IX. Wove.*

37. WATER MILL

First Plate in Part VIII.

37. WATER MILL

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

WATER MILL.
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner
Engraved by R. Dunkarton
Published Febʏ 1. 1812. by J. M. W. Turner Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, M.
The pencil sketch from nature of this subject is in "Spithead" Sketch Book, T.B., c, p. 52*a*. The mill probably is or was somewhere between Hind Head and Guildford. It was sketched in November, 1807, during Turner's return journey from Portsmouth.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Before foreground dog and trees on right.
No lettering. Thirteen copies in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Dog added in etched outline, but without any shading. Before etched outline of trees on right. BOSTON ex Mendel, Addington, and Rawlinson. (*b*) Sky and clouds completed. Tail of dog effaced. BOSTON ex Stokes. (*c*) Roof of mill reduced in tone. Outlines

of trees, brickwork on lower part of mill, and shade lines on dog etched. Tail of dog added, and light markings on his muzzle. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor. (*d*) Before lights on sky, on mill, water-wheel, etc., were heightened. ALLEN ex Taylor. All before letters.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin, and before cast shadow was added on chimney-cap; also before white markings on stones of step on left. Head of horse on right and leg of rider on second horse cast light reflections. *J. Whatman* 1810.
(This state has hitherto been classed as an Engraver's Proof.)

SECOND STATE

Still before any mark in margin.
Cast shadow added on chimney-cap. Broad high light taken out on upper edge of stone at foot of steps, and three upright lights inserted on side of steps. Lights on horses and rider darkened; also water and light reflections. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Mark resembling a capital A, without the cross-piece, in left lower margin, just below and to left of D in "Drawn."
A short horizontal streak of light added in sky, above the water-wheel and about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. higher than gable.
Still good in early impressions.
In late impressions some rust or acid stains appear to left of mark.
J. Whatman 1810. *Dovecote XII. Dupuy IX, X. Wove.*

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. Signed with engraver's monogram and date '85. Lettered: "Frank Short, sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. 7 × 10. First State. Shield re-engraved and date omitted. Lettered as above.
Second State. Publication line added: "London, Published 1st Oct. 1885 by Robt Dunthorne at The Rembrandt Head in Vigo Street."
STRANGE, No. 36.
Copy of First State, before cast shadow on chimney-cap, etc.

38. SCENE IN THE CAMPAGNA

Called by Turner "SAY'S TALL TREE"; *also called* "WOMAN AT A TANK" *and* "HINDOO ABLUTIONS."
Issued in Part VIII.

38. SCENE IN THE CAMPAGNA

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E. P
Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.
Published Feby 1 1812, by J. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, N.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale.
FIRST STATE. Before line of distant hills on horizon. Touched. BRITISH MUSEUM.
SECOND STATE. Outlines of distant hills added.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Foliage on nearest tree-trunk on left light. Trunk and branches of foreground tree dark, with very little modelling. BRITISH MUSEUM ex F. Say. (*b*) Bands of clouds dark and distant hills pale. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. Both before letters.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Clouds lightened and distant hills darkened. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Mark resembling a capital A, without the cross-piece, in left lower corner, below and a little to left of "D" in "Drawn."
Lights added in sky above distant mountain on right.

J. Whatman 1810. *Dovecote XV. Dupuy. Wove.*

(Mr. Rawlinson describes a Third State, in which the darks are "richly re-mezzotinted." I have never seen such an impression.)
Note.—In V. and A. Museum "Catalogue of Prints. 'The Liber Studiorum,' etc.," published 1908, this subject is described, erroneously, as "Temple of Minerva Medica, Rome." The writer has evidently confused this plate with No. 23.

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.
LITHOGRAPH. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered: "E.P.", no title, "Published by Day & Son, &c."
Plate 2 in Day and Son's "Selection."

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
THE ETCHING. Signed with engraver's monogram and date, '86. Lettered: "Frank Short, sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. First State. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield to right of base of tree in foreground, and date omitted. Same lettering as etching.
Second State. Publication line added: "London. Published 1.st Nov.r 1886 by Rob.t Dunthorne at The Rembrandt Head in Vigo Street.
STRANGE, No. 41. Under the erroneous title of "Temple of Minerva Medica, Rome."

39. CRYPT OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY

Issued in Part VIII.

39. CRYPT OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A
Original Drawing in the possession of John Soane Esqr. R.A. Professor of Architecture
Drawn Etched & Engraved by I. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.P.P.
Published Feby. 11. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.
23 In^s by 36 In^s.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, 0.
The pencil drawing, partly coloured, from nature was made in 1797. It is in "North of England" Sketch Book, T.B., XXXIV, p. 10*a*. The water-colour, which was exhibited R.A. in 1798, under the title of "Refectory of Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire," is now in Sir John Soane's Museum. It differs extensively from Turner's engraving. A fine engraving of the water-colour by J. Scott was published in Britton's "Architectural Antiquities, etc.," 1814.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. With a faint tone of aquatint and rocked in parts.
Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Wall at left light. Arch and bracket at extreme right dark. BOSTON ex Stokes and Rawlinson. (*b*) No rays of light entering on left, and ground below opening lighter than

wall beyond. Bright light on lower left part only of centre column. No definition in dark parts of roof and walls. Right side of nearest column light; no high light on its left side. Patch of reflected light on extreme right above pool. Margins not cleaned. Before letters. ALLEN ex Taylor. (*c*) Before rays of light entering on left, and before the high lights on centre pillar were enclosed by an added etched line. Dark masonry on extreme left in front of entering light is not yet fully darkened up to edge of plate. No high lights on left of pillar on right, and openings of window on right not yet lightened. Through doorway a streak of light in lower part of sky and two thin tree-trunks below are seen. Lettered as First State. BRITISH MUSEUM, RYLANDS, BOSTON. (*d*) Similar, but with rays of light scratched with a knife at entrance on left, partly obliterating the etched lines representing hanging weeds. V. RIENAECKER. (*e*) Lettered. Still before etched lines enclosing high lights on left of centre pillar, but with two rays of light entering on left. HORNBY.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Two distinct rays of light entering on left, and fresh etched lines added to left of high lights on capital and lower part of vaulting of centre column. *Wove.*

SECOND STATE

Mark resembling a capital A about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below left corner of engraved border. Numerous rays of light now entering on left, and two patches of light added beside dark weed which projects above shadow below light opening on left. Lights added on centre pillar and on ground below. Cast shadow added to right of centre pillar. Trees seen through doorway darkened below; trunks and light in sky above enlarged. Vaulting above right pillar darkened.
Still very fine. *J. Whatman* 1810.

THIRD STATE

Same mark in margin.
Upper margin of light entering on left is now lowered at entrance to $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. from bottom border line, and strikes lower part of niche on wall. Before dark patches on cows and before space at foot of centre column was darkened. *Doveçote XI.*

FOURTH STATE

Same mark in margin.
Heavily re-worked, partly in aquatint. Shape of light entering on left again altered. Upper left side of capital of pillar on right is now light. Trees seen through doorway now darker at top, with no trunks showing. Dark patches of aquatint on seated cattle.
Late impressions are lighter and flatter through wear, but there was no further re-work.
Dupuy V, VIII. Wove.

(Mr. Rawlinson's Third State seems to be a worn example of this Fourth.)

COPY

BY AN UNKNOWN ENGRAVER.
MEZZOTINT. 9 × 12; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Lettered: "A CRYPT, KIRKSTALL. From a drawing & etching by J. M. W. Turner, Esq. R.A.P.P.", with publication lines as in copy of No. 2.
Plate 6 in Day & Son's "Selections."

40. THE MILDMAY SEA-PIECE

Issued in Part VIII.

the Poſſeſſion of Sr John Millbanke Bart

40. THE MILDMAY SEA-PIECE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
Picture in the possession of Sir John Mildmay Bar^{t} 3 *Feet by* 4 *Feet*
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner
Engraved by W. Annis & I. C. Easling
Published Feby 11. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing is known of this subject. The oil painting also seems to have disappeared.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered: "In the Possession of Sr John Milbmay Bar^{t}". Thirteen impressions in the Turner Sale; twelve described as finished, one as unfinished.

J. Whatman 1805.

It is usual to distinguish two states of this etching. The first without men in boat on right, the second with men added. I believe that the so-called first states are merely defectively printed impressions, in which certain lines have failed to print. Examples of both kinds are in the British Museum.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sea not completed, and distant boat on left not made out. Etched lettering. BRITISH

MUSEUM ex Vaughan (HERE REPRODUCED). (*b*) Upper edge of sun irregular. Upward rays of sun faintly indicated. Barrels and planks on left dark and unfinished. Etched lettering. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
No light on sails of distant boat on left. *J. Whatman* 1810. *H. Smith.*

SECOND STATE

Mark resembling a capital A to left of two diagonal scratches below "D" in "Drawn."
Light horizontal clouds added in sky above upward rays of light.
Light on sails of both distant boats on left. Double shadow cast by fluke of anchor.
Still fine.

THIRD STATE

Capital A now placed on the right of the two diagonal scratches below "D" in "Drawn."
Lights on sails of boats on left worn. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Same mark in margin, but sea and foreground re-worked. Sea very dark. Reflections of sun in water now differ in shape. Lights added on shore at left around fisherman with net. Lights on sails of distant boat on left. All foreground shadows strengthened and lengthened, notably those of running boy in centre. *Dupuy V, VIII. Wove.*

(Mr. Rawlinson's Fourth State seems to consist of worn impressions of the Third. The "ground of the sky" does not appear to have been re-worked. The dull and heavy effect in late impressions is simply the result of wear.)

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. Signed with engraver's monogram and date '85. Lettered: "Frank Short Sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."

MEZZOTINT. $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. First State. Re-lettered; the S of "Short" now made with two strokes. Second State. Publication line added: "London, Published 1st June, 1886, by Robt Dunthorne at The Rembrandt Head in Vigo Street."

STRANGE, No. 38.

41. PROCRIS AND CEPHALUS

Issued in Part VIII.

41. PROCRIS AND CEPHALUS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H

PROCRIS AND CEPHALUS.
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner
Engraved by G. Clint
Published Feby 14. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. Faded or rubbed. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, P.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Twelve in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Only one known at present. Sky unfinished but nearly completed. Before letters. BOSTON ex Rawlinson and Stevenson.
There was also a proof in the Turner Sale, but its present owner is not known.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Faint scratched mark like an irregular capital A in left margin, below "D" in "Drawn." Still very fine. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

A smaller and more regularly shaped capital A engraved in place of previous mark. No re-work. *J. Whatman* 1810. *T. Richard* (*b*). *Dovecotes XI, XV. Wove.*

COPIES

BY T. LUPTON.

ETCHING. $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Printed with slight tint. The Stone which appears in Turner's etching in foreground below centre of bow of Cephalus is incomplete in Lupton's copy. *J. Whatman* 1863.

MEZZOTINT. Same measurements. Some unlettered. Others lettered in script: "Procris and Cephalus 1864 J M W Turner Thos Lupton Proof", with "H.M." in open caps. in top margin. Tops of distant foliage on extreme right are lighter and rounder in form than in original.

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Unsigned. No lettering.

MEZZOTINT. Same measurements. First State. Engraver's monogram in shield and date '85. Lettered faintly: "Frank Short Sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."

Second State. Monogram and shield re-engraved and date omitted. Lettering etched, and publication line added: "London, Published 1st Augt. 1885 by Robt. Dunthorne at The Rembrandt Head, in Vigo Street."

STRANGE, No. 35.

42. WINCHELSEA, SUSSEX

First Plate in Part IX.

42. WINCHELSEA, SUSSEX

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

WINCHELSEA, SUSSEX
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner
Engraved by I. C. Easling
Published April 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, Q.
Sketched about 1806. Pencil sketch from nature in "Sussex" Sketch Book, T.B., XCII, p. 43.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Twelve in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

None is known.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Three light stones in shadow in left foreground. *Wove.*

SECOND STATE

Single diagonal stroke $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below left lower corner of plate and about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. to its left.
Stones darkened. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Mark in margin altered to a capital A.
Three stones in left foreground lightened again.
Early impressions are still good. *Wove. Dovecote XI. Wove.*

(Mr. Rawlinson gives a Fourth State, "re-worked throughout." I have never seen one.)

43. THE BRIDGE AND GOATS

Issued in Part IX.

43. THE BRIDGE AND GOATS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E.P
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner R.A
Engraved by F. C Lewis
Published April 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. Faded and reverse of engraving. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, R.

ETCHING

$9 \times 12\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$. Rare. Only three in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1801.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) In aquatint. Sky and distance light, with few details and shadows. Sun same tone as light part of sky. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye, BOSTON ex Taylor (closely trimmed). (*b*) Sun burnished. Before high light on parapets in foreground. Touched with sepia, and middle-distance at right darkened. Before letters. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor. (*c*) Sky still all in aquatint; before mezzotint on lower part. Mezzotint on middle-distance and foreground. Lights on parapets. Very fine. ALLEN ex Stokes and Heseltine. (*d*) Lower part of sky and distance mezzotinted. Scratched initials to left of centre, artist's and engraver's names, but no publication line. ALLEN ex Heywood Hawkins, Reiss, and Cathcart.

FIRST STATE

Before mark in margin. Sun distinctly white against sky. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

A single vertical line about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. to left of and below left corner of engraved border.
Parapets and foreground still light as in I. *J. Whatman* 1810.

THIRD STATE

Same mark.
Middle-distance on right and foreground on right and left darkened. Foreground bridge, tops of both parapets, and sheep near centre darkened, apparently with roulette. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

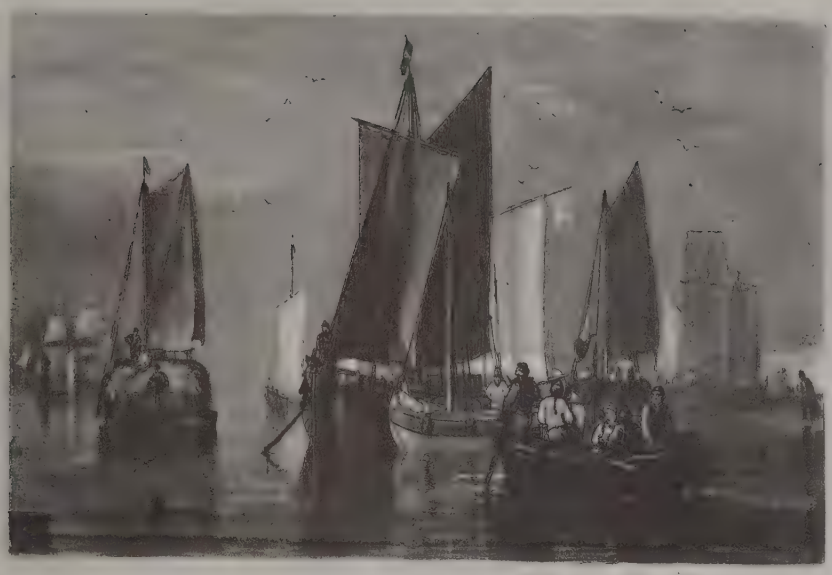
Mark now resembles an irregular capital A.
Sun is again visible in some impressions. No further re-work. *J. Whatman* 1810.
In later impressions (on laid paper) all centre of sky is light. *Dovecote XII.*

FIFTH STATE

Same mark in margin, and dot added in bow of initial letter P.
Sky re-worked ; sun smaller and a little to the left, with upward rays of light and short bands of light clouds below it. Lights in horizon added near centre.
Lights brought out on plants below and to right of nearest tree, on tree-trunks above, and on distant foliage.
Earlier impressions on laid paper, later on wove.

44. CALM

Issued in Part IX.



44. CALM

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

CALM

Picture in the possession of J. M. W. Turner. 1 Ft 2. by 2 Ft 3.
Drawn Etched & Engraved by I. M. W. Turner
Published April 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing is known for this plate.
An oil painting with this title was, according to Redford's "Art Sales," sold at Christie's in 1875, in the G. Burnett sale; the size given is 17×13 in.

ETCHING

$7 \times 10\frac{9}{16}$ (Plate mark trimmed). In soft-ground. Only one impression is known. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Light aquatint added all over the soft-ground etching. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*b*) Dark accents on water at left, on boat and crew, and on reflections at right. Reflections of men in rowing-boat white. Still in aquatint. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*c*) Sky dark and flat, with few lighter patches. Still in aquatint. Margins not cleaned. J.E.T.A., ex Stokes and Taylor. (*d*) Sky cleared, and break of light added on left. Before etched lines on sails and rigging. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*e*) Mezzotint added.

Outlines and shading lines on sails, riggings, and hulls of boats etched. Deeply bitten etched work added on men in rowing-boat. Small boat on left and larger boat on right of hay-barge added in pencil. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*f*) Corrections carried out. Before birds in sky. Margins not cleaned, and before letters. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor. (*g*) Lettered as First State. Nearly finished, but before birds. ALLEN, BOSTON (2), one ex Rawlinson, one ex Stokes. (*h*) Some birds added. Before long light folds on square sail of centre boat were put in. Before lights on cap and sleeve of nearest man in foreground boat, on oar projecting from side of boat, and on circular ripples round oar of standing man in foreground boat. Lettered as before. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan, BOSTON, HORNBY (2), RYLANDS, MISS E. STOPFORD BROOKE, V. RIENAECKER. (*J. Whatman* 1810.)
It is probable that some of these lettered Proofs were published.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Birds completed, and lights added on sails. Dark band on nearest sailing-boat lightened, and its reflection. Lights added on figures in rowing-boat, on upper plank of boat, and on ripples at its bow and stern. Very rare. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Still before any mark in margin.
Lights added on lower right of topsail on right and on mainsail below. Rare. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Left side of a capital A with cross-piece added $\frac{1}{4}$ in. below and about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. to left of left lower corner of plate. Rare. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

Mark completed to an irregular capital A.
Sky re-worked; no lights on left or on upper clouds. No lights on ripples round rowing-boat. Light sail above standing foreground man re-worked. Dark bands added on lower part of jib and on dark sail in centre, and on dark sail on right above figures in stern of rowing-boat. Stripes on pennant of centre boat darkened. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FIFTH STATE

Same mark in margin.
Figures on hay-barge, its hull, dingy, and reflections darkened. Two light stripes added on dingy and lights and darks on sea-gull above buoy brought out. *J. Whatman* 1810. *Dovecote XII.*

SIXTH STATE

Same mark in margin.
Sky re-worked, apparently in aquatint. Sails on left and right darkened, and both figures on shore on right. Light sail just above head of man in rowing-boat is now obliterated. *Dupuy VI.*

SEVENTH STATE

Same mark, but dot added in curve of letter C in CALM. *Dovecote XIV.*
Late worn impressions on wove paper. *Dupuy IX.*

COPY

BY T. LUPTON.
ETCHING. $8\frac{8}{8} \times 11\frac{15}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Foul biting on boat and shore on extreme right. Lupton's etching was not copied from Turner's soft-ground etching, but seems to have been made up from a print of the mezzotint. Birds and buoy appear in this etching.
MEZZOTINT. Same measurements. Apparently copied from a Second State, as the lights on sails on right are given. Some impressions not lettered. Others lettered: "THE CALM. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. *Proof.*" One unlettered impression has margins not quite cleaned, and is before light folds on lower right of square sail in centre.

45. PEAT BOG, SCOTLAND

Issued in Part IX.

45. PEAT BOG, SCOTLAND

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

PEAT BOG, SCOTLAND

Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq.r R.A.

Engraved by G. Clint

Published April 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, T.
Probably sketched during Turner's tour in Scotland, in 1801.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.
FIRST STATE. Before added work on peat bog, on hills and foreground. Lettered: "Peat BBog Scot.d" ALLEN ex Pocock.
SECOND STATE. Heavily bitten vertical lines added on bog. Figure in left middle-distance taken out. Much new work in foreground and middle-distance. Lettered: "Peat Bog Scot.d" (HERE REPRODUCED).

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Two rainbows on dark clouds at upper right, and vague lights on mountain below.

Etched lettering. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor. (*b*) Sky at right lightened. Rainbow reduced. Peat bog lightened near foreground. Sky, middle, and far distance nearly completed. Same lettering. BOSTON (two, one touched). (*c*) Rainbows re-worked and lightened. Mists lightened at right. Mountain side at right nearly completed. Same lettering. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan (two, one touched), BOSTON. (*d*) Light clouds added over rain-cloud near upper margin. Lower rainbow and mountain side blended. V. AND A. MUSEUM ex Dr. Percy. (*e*) Checked pattern added on skirt of woman in foreground. High lights added on clouds above, and lights added and heightened in foreground. BOSTON ex Stokes. All with etched lettering.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. Rare. *H. Smith* 1811. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Diagonal line, with shorter line projecting from its centre at right angles, in left lower margin; about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. from left corner of engraved border.
No reflection of fire on right in some impressions.
Rare. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Same mark in margin.
Checks added on plaid of foreground woman. Rainbows and path in middle-distance lightened.
Still very fine. *Wove.*

FOURTH STATE

Mark in margin converted into a capital A.
No further re-work. Still fine. *J. Whatman* 1810.
Later impressions on laid paper. *Dovecote XI.*

FIFTH STATE

Same mark in margin, and dot added in "o" of BOG in title.
No further re-work. Still fine in early impressions. *Dovecote XIV. Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

COPY

BY T. LUPTON.
ETCHING. $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. No lettering. Vertical lines on bog not so deeply bitten as in the original.
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Lettered: "S.P. Peat Bog Scot^{d}. 1864 J M W Turner Thos Lupton Proof." Some impressions without "S.P" in top margin, and engraver's name in lower right margin.

46. RISPAH

Issued in Part IX.

46. RISPAH

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H
RISPAH
2nd Book of Samuel. Chap. 21.
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.
Engraved by R. Dunkarton
Published April 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. N.G., Vaughan Bequest, catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, U.
An oil painting of this subject is in National Gallery, No. 464.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. No lettering.
FIRST STATE. With foul-biting on foliage at left and on other parts. ALLEN, BOSTON.
SECOND STATE. Foul-biting removed, and some of the herbage above outstretched arm of Rispah erased.
Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Extensively touched with sepia and Chinese white. Paper scraped for moon, clouds,

stars, and on smoke from torch, etc. Before letters. BOSTON ex Hawkins (1904) and Rawlinson. (*b*) Many corrections carried out. Moon defined, but again scraped out lighter. Shadows on dead bodies, etc., touched with black. Before letters. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor. (*c*) Nearly completed, but before lights on foreground. Before letters. BRITISH MUSEUM.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *H. Smith and Son* 1811.

SECOND STATE

Single vertical line, with short line projecting from its centre on right, about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. below left lower corner of engraved border.
Sky and distant hill lighter. More lights on bush over stream on extreme right.
Still fine. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Mark altered to a capital A.
Early impressions (generally on wove paper) are still fine. Later impressions are on laid paper. *J. Whatman* 1810. *Dovecotes XI, XII. T. Richard* (*b*).

FOURTH STATE

Same mark, but dot added in bows of R and P in RISPAH.
I can see no traces of re-work. *Dupuy X.*
Late impressions on wove paper.

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.
LITHOGRAPH. $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Lettered: "H. Rispah, &c."
Plate 1 in Day and Son's "Selection."

BY T. LUPTON.
ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7 \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Printed with slight tone. Foul-biting on left foliage, etc. Dotted outline of distant hill on extreme right omitted.
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered: "RISPAH. 2nd Book of Samuel Chap 21. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. *Proof.* London; Pubd Jany 1858, by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co 13 & 14, Pall Mall East & The Engraver, 4 Keppel St. W.C."

47. HEDGING AND DITCHING

The Second Plate in Part X, the First being the Frontispiece.

47. HEDGING AND DITCHING

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

HEDGING AND DITCHING
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by C. Easling
Published May 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, W.
One of the subjects sketched on the journey from Portsmouth, November 1807. The pencil sketch from nature is in "Spithead" Sketch Book, T.B., c, p. 47. It is reproduced in "Turner's Sketches and Drawings" (FINBERG), Plate XXV.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Twelve in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.
FIRST STATE. No border lines. Face of man with pick incomplete. J.E.T.A.
SECOND STATE. Border and features added.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Pasture at left dark. Margins not cleaned. Before letters. BOSTON. (*b*) Nearly completed. Top margin not cleaned. Before letters. MRS. STANLEY BARNES.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

A single vertical stroke about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below lower left corner of plate. *Wove.*
(This mark is inserted in pencil in impression in British Museum.)

THIRD STATE

A second stroke added, joining the first at the top, making the mark like a capital A without the cross-piece.
Early impressions are fine. *J. Whatman* 1810. *T. Richard* (*a*).

FOURTH STATE

Same mark in margin, with dot added in bow of initial letter P.
I can find no traces of re-work. *Dupuy X. Wove.*

48. RIVER WYE

Originally called CHEPSTOW CASTLE.
Issued in Part X.

Castle

48. RIVER WYE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E.P.
RIVER WYE
Drawn & Etched by I M W Turner Esq.r R.A.P.P.
Engraved by W. Annis
Published May 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, X.
Probably from sketch made in 1798.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$.
FIRST STATE. Before figures of bathers, and before margin lines were completed. ALLEN ex Taylor.
SECOND STATE. Figures added. Lettered: "Chepstow Castle" (the "a" is reversed). Thirteen impressions in Turner Sale.
It is possible that the differences in the First State are merely due to defective printing.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky dark. Castle and slopes below very dark. Window openings in keep. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan, BOSTON ex Taylor. (*b*) Sky lightened, clouds developed. Details

added on ruined castle in centre. Margins cleaned. BOSTON ex Taylor. (*c*) Castle and all centre re-rocked. No window openings in keep. Sky nearer completion. ALLEN ex Taylor. (*d*) Sky lightened and lights added on horse, cows, etc. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye, BOSTON ex Stokes, Bale, and Rawlinson. (*e*) Almost completed. Window opening in castle lightened. No lights on small lower tree on extreme right. ALLEN. All these proofs have the lettering of the Etching.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

A single vertical line below left lower corner of plate.
Little inferior to I. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

Mark changed to a capital A.
Before re-work. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Same mark in margin.
Light now added breaking downwards on slope just to right of keep in centre.
Dark reflections on right and in centre re-worked. *T. Richard* (*a*) *and* (*b*).

FIFTH STATE

Same mark in margin.
Lights added on foliage below keep. Smoke prolonged to left and light reflection added in water below. White horizontal streak added crossing lower part of rounded clouds above left corner of keep. Other lights added in sky. *Laid.*
Late worn impressions on wove paper.

49. CHAIN OF ALPS FROM GRENOBLE TO CHAMBERI

Issued in Part X.

49. CHAIN OF ALPS FROM GRENOBLE TO CHAMBERI

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
CHAIN OF ALPS from Grenoble to Chamberi
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq.r R.A.P.P.
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to the Prince Regent & H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester
Published May 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, Y.
Sketched in 1802. See drawing, washed with water colour, in "St. Gothard and Mont Blanc" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXV, p. 26.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Thirteen in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Three, well advanced. One has snow on mountain on left and the smoke below on right scraped out white by Turner. BRITISH MUSEUM (touched proof ex Vaughan, earlier ex Pye, later ex Say) (*J. Whatman* 1810). (*b*) Rays of sun not defined. Middle distance dark with

bright lights. BOSTON ex Rawlinson. (*c*) Completed, but still before letters. ALLEN ex Stokes and Reiss.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Left-hand stroke and centre-piece of a capital A, below left lower corner of plate.
Early impressions very little inferior to I. *J. Whatman* 1810.

THIRD STATE

Mark completed to capital A.
Rays of light over middle distance fainter, but still fine. *J. Whatman* 1810. *Laid.*

FOURTH STATE

Same mark in margin, with dot added in O of OF in title.
Heavily printed in darker ink, but no re-work. *Dupuy. Wove.*

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.

LITHOGRAPH. $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Lettered : "Chain of Alps &c."
Plate 5 in Day and Son's "Selection."

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

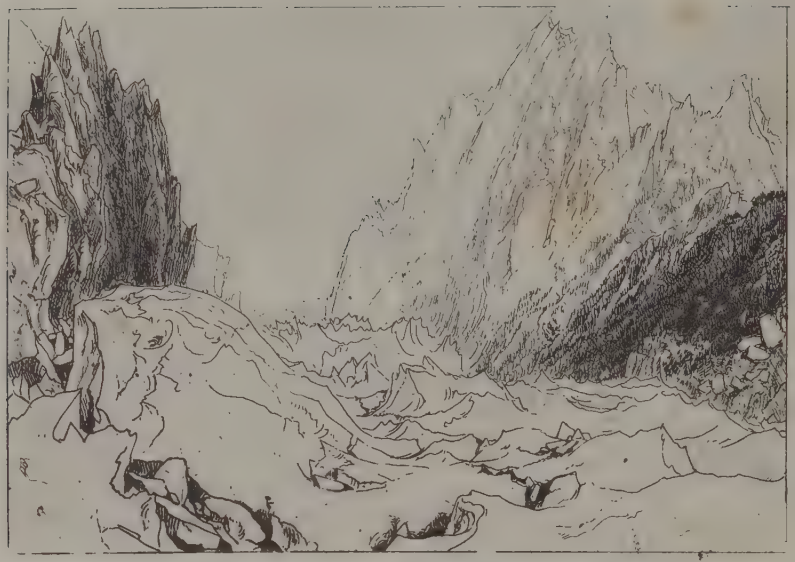
ETCHING. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield. Lettered : "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner".

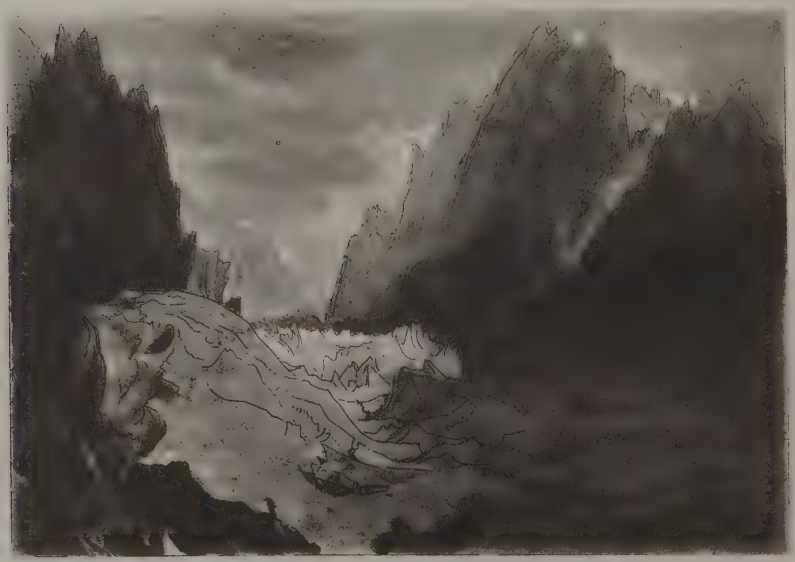
MEZZOTINT. $7 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. First State. Same lettering.
Second State. Publication line added : "London. Published Novr 1st 1887, by Robt Dunthorne at The Rembrandt Head in Vigo Street."

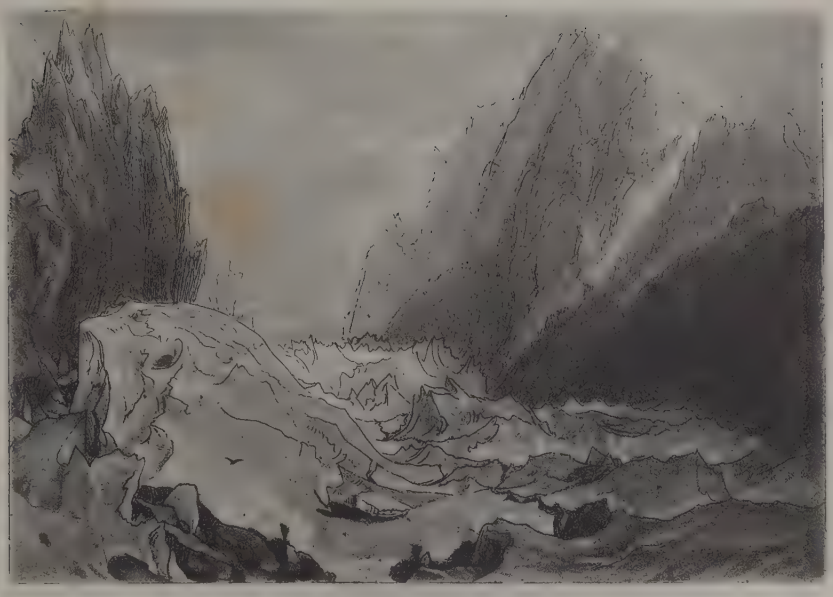
STRANGE, No. 43.

50. MER DE GLACE

Issued in Part X.







50. MER DE GLACE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

MER DE GLACE—VALLEY OF CHAMOUNI—SAVOY.
Drawn Etched & Engraved by I. M. W. Turner Esqr R.A.P.P.
Published May 23. 1812 by I. M. W. Turner Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing is known of this subject.
The subject was certainly sketched in 1802. There is a drawing of the Mer de Glace, looking up stream, in "St. Gothard and Mont Blanc" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXV, p. 23, and other sketches in the neighbourhood in the same book, and in "France, Savoy, Piedmont" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXIII.
The "Drawing in colours very similar to it, which was once at Farnley," is presumably "Blair's Hut on the Montanvert and Mer de Glace." It is quite different in design.

ETCHING

$8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10$. Twelve in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Foreground and peaks on right dark and undefined. Peak of Mont Blanc a brilliant and well-marked pyramid of snow, more to the left than in later states. Before letters.

BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye, ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor, BOSTON ex Stokes. (*b*) Lettered as First State. Peak of Mont Blanc still visible in its original position, but a new peak added nearer centre of plate. COURTAULD. (*c*) Lights added on clouds on left and on glacier. Same lettering. BOSTON. (*d*) Same lettering. Before sharp ray of light at base of distant cliff on right, and before all clouds in centre and upper left were modelled and finished. Before lights on top of peaks on left, and before lights on glacier in far and middle distance. ALLEN ex Horne. (*e*) Birds added in left foreground and near base of cliff in middle distance. Same lettering. BOSTON ex Ruskin and Rawlinson, WINTHROP ex Bullard.
There is a proof before letters in the New York Public Library.

FIRST STATE

Before mark in margin.
Sharp ray of light added at base of distant cliff; clouds modelled and lights added on glacier.
Rare. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Single diagonal stroke about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. below left lower corner of plate.
Little inferior to I in early impressions. *Wove.*

THIRD STATE

A second line added on right of first, which it joins at the top, making a mark like a capital A without the cross-piece.
Slightly worn, but no re-work, and still fine. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Same mark, but the shapes of upper clouds before Mt. Blanc are now altered. Shapes of range of snow-covered peaks on right of Mt. Blanc also altered. Fresh light touches added beyond line of cliffs on right.
Still fine in early impressions. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FIFTH STATE

Same mark, but entirely re-worked. Heavy and dull. Crest of Mt. Blanc enlarged on left side; clouds before and above it entirely altered. Bar of light clouds added about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. below initial letter. Foreground of glacier darkened. Foul-biting in centre of lower margin, round the words "Mer de Glace" in title. *Dupuy IX. Wove.*

(I have adopted the usual description of the distant white peak in centre as Mt. Blanc; but I am told that this description is incorrect. It must belong to the Grandes Jorasses.)

51. RIVAUX ABBEY

Issued in Part X.

51. RIVAUX ABBEY

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A
RIVAUX ABBEY, YORKSHIRE
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by H. Dawe
Published May 23. 1812, by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{13}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVII, Z.
Sketched on the way to Scotland in 1801. The pencil drawing from nature—a leaf from the "Smaller Fonthill" Sketch Book—is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Art, Mass., U.S.A. Other sketches of this building are in "Dunbar" Sketch Book, T.B., LIV.

ETCHING

$8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{13}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Twelve in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Dark and flat; before lights on masonry. Before letters. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor, BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*b*) Lights added on masonry and on trees. Closely trimmed. ALLEN. (*c*) High lights on masonry and on trunk of tree on right. Before letters. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin; except an irregular scratch, something like a capital W, in left lower corner, which appears in all impressions of this plate. *J. Whatman* 1810.

SECOND STATE

Two small diagonal lines close together, about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. below left lower corner of plate.
Fine, and little inferior to I. *J. Whatman* 1810.
(I have seen one impression of this state in which a mark has been inserted in pencil. It is like the left side of a capital A, with the cross-piece; and another in which a similar pencil mark has been partially erased.)

THIRD STATE

Another line added, producing a mark like a capital A, without the cross-piece.
Still good. *J. Whatman* 1810.

FOURTH STATE

Same mark, with dot added in initial A and in O of YORKSHIRE in title. Heavily printed, with darker ink, but no re-work. *Wove. Laid. Wove.*

52. SOLWAY MOSS

The First Plate in Part XI.

52. SOLWAY MOSS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

SOLWAY MOSS.
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by Thos Lupton
Published Jany 1. 1816, by Mr Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing for this plate is known, though the engraver, Lupton, in a letter to John Pye (PYE AND ROGET, p. 64) speaks of "a slight but beautiful drawing in bistre of Solway Moss," which Turner gave him to work from.

The subject was sketched during the return from the tour in Scotland in 1801. Though the design is much altered it is evidently based on a sketch, in pencil with washes of neutral tint, from the "Smaller Fonthill" Sketch Book, T.B., XLVIII. It is now in the Ruskin Drawing School at Oxford, No. 143.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.
FIRST STATE. Grasses in left foreground heavily bitten. Much foul-biting. BOSTON.
SECOND STATE. Foul-biting reduced. Left foreground cleared and re-worked. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

In BRITISH MUSEUM (Vaughan Bequest) there is an impression of the etching with washes by

Turner. On this the Engraver has written: "Sir I have laid in the ground all over the copper, in case you should wish to retouch any part." (Mr. Rawlinson refers to this impression, but states erroneously that it was in the Taylor collection.)

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Marked "1" by the engraver. Very dark; no smoke on right. B.M. (*b*) Marked "2." Lighter, but still dark, except for break of light at edge of distant hill. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*c*) Lightened. B.M., BOSTON ex Stokes. (*d*) Sky made out. Two lines of smoke. B.M. (2, one touched). (*e*) Sky, mountains, and thunder-cloud lightened and defined. ALLEN (touched) ex Stokes, Smith, and Murray, BOSTON (touched) ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson, B.M., etc. (*f*) Lightened, and corrections marked in Mr. Allen's touched proof carried out. ALLEN ex Horne and Whitehead. (*g*) Smoke of the two fires blended in one long line. ALLEN ex Stokes, Bale, Whitehead, and Harland Peck. B.M., BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor (touched). All before letters, and in browner ink than First State. All B.M. Proofs are ex Vaughan.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. Very rare. *Dovecotes XI, XII. T. Richard* (*b*).

SECOND STATE

Still before any mark in margin.
A lower flash of lightning added on left. Rare. *Dovecote XI. T. Richard* (*a*).

THIRD STATE

Single diagonal stroke about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below left lower corner of plate.
Rare. *Dovecote XII.*

FOURTH STATE

Second stroke added on left of and parallel to first.
Still fine. *Dupuy VIII. Dovecote XII.*

FIFTH STATE

Same marks, with dot added in O of SOLWAY in title.
Earlier impressions (on laid paper) are still fine, though worn. Latest impressions on wove paper

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.
LITHOGRAPH. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$. Lettered: "Solway Moss. &c."
Plate 14 in Day and Son's "Selection."

BY T. LUPTON, made in 1858, after Turner's death.
ETCHING. $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{15}{16}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Probably not copied from Turner's etching, but made up from a print of the mezzotint. First two curves of water in foreground on left, which appear in Lupton's etching, do not appear in Turner's etching.
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{15}{16}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Some impressions without any lettering. Others lettered: "S.P. SOLWAY MOSS. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. Proof. Pl. 3. London: Pubd Jany 1858, by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co 13 & 14, Pall Mall East, & the Engraver, 4 Keppel St. W.C."
The lower flash of lightning added in Second State of original engraving does not appear in this copy. It is one of the best of Lupton's copies, but the need for Turner's supervision is apparent.

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield. Lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. First State. Lettered as etching.
Second State. Publication line added; date "Nov. 1st, 1887."
STRANGE, No. 45.

53. SOLITUDE

Sometimes called THE READING MAGDALEN.
Issued in Part XI.

53. SOLITUDE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E.P.
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner.
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.R.H the Duke of Gloucester.
Published May 12, 1814. by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, A.
Turner's title in list in Sketch Book is almost indecipherable. It is probably, "Say's Castle & M^{n}." (*i.e.*, Magdalen).

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Fourteen in the Turner Sale.
On an impression in Mr. Allen's collection is written, "Acquafortis by W. Say," probably by the engraver. On another impression, in the same collection, the trunk of a second tree on the right has been outlined in pencil by Turner.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Light. Sky fairly even in tone. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins. (*b*) Before second tree on right, and before lights behind tree-trunks in centre. ALLEN ex Stokes, Hawkins (1904), and Horne. (*c*) A tree and branch added in sepia beyond bent tree-trunk on right. Touched.

B.M. ex Beckford. (*d*) Added tree-trunk and branch engraved. Lights indicated in (*c*), converting rock into long grass, engraved on plate. B.M. ex Beckford. (*e*) Touched. Space on right of nearer bent tree-trunk re-rocked. Additional leaves on upper branches inserted in sepia. B.M. ex Pye. (*f*) Additional leaves on upper branches engraved on plate. B.M. ex Vaughan, BOSTON (2), one ex Stokes, one ex Rawlinson. All the foregoing are before letters. (*g*) Lettered as First State. Before bird in sky. Rock on extreme right darkened. A number of dark specks in upper sky, apparently caused by spilling of powdered ink on plate during printing. FINBERG ex Blood. (*Dovecote IX.*)

FIRST STATE

Scratch in upper sky near centre turned into a bird.
Before any mark in margin. *Dovecotes XI, XII. T. Richard* (*b*).

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. below left lower corner of plate. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*

THIRD STATE

A second stroke added on right of and parallel to first.
Worn. *Dovecote XI. T. Richard* (*b*). *Rosary.*

FOURTH STATE

Same mark, with dot added in bow of initial P.
Before re-work. Worn. *Dovecote XI.*

FIFTH STATE

Same marks as in Fourth State.
Re-mezzotinted all over. A forked branch and clump of foliage added to small branch which crosses big bent tree-trunk on right above its own lower branch. Triangular shape of rock in right lower corner darkened.
(I have only seen one impression of this state, which apparently was not published. It bears the engraver's stamp. ALLEN ex Say.)

SIXTH STATE

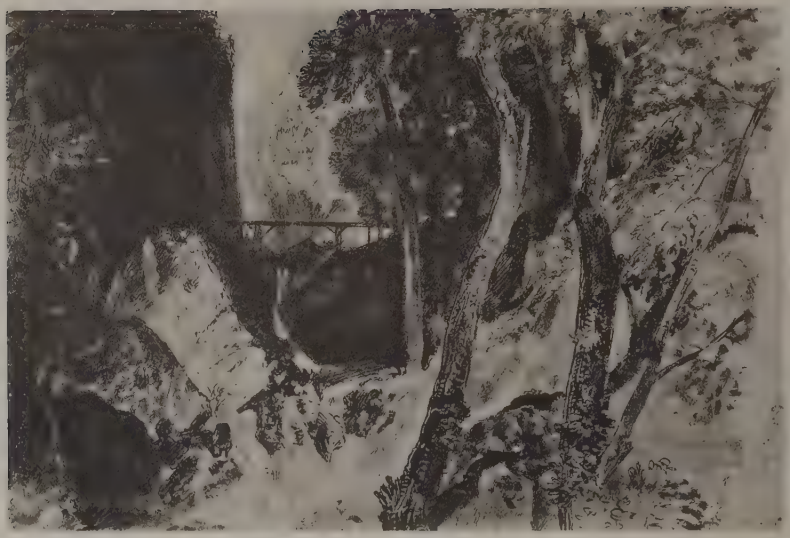
Same marks as in Fourth State.
The forked branch on right altered to a single shoot, and the clump of foliage taken out. Lights taken out round trunks of trees in centre, and to right of thick bent trunk on right about 1 in. above horizon. Castle and sea darker than in I.
High lights added on bent tree-trunk and all over foreground.
Brilliant, but forced.

SEVENTH STATE

Same marks as in Fourth State.
A number of light lines added on nearer part of sea, and a few twigs with leaves added on second tree-trunk just above horizon.
Earlier impressions on laid paper; later, on wove.

54. MILL NEAR THE GRAND CHARTREUSE

Issued in Part XI.



54. MILL NEAR THE GRAND CHARTREUSE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

MILL, NEAR THE GRAND CHARTREUSE ;—DAUPHINY.
Drawn by I. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by H. Dawe.
Published Jany 1. 1816, by Mr Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$9\frac{1}{8} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest, catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, B.
Sketched in 1802. Several drawings of this subject in "Grenoble" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXIV, pp. 27-31, etc.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale.
This is not claimed by Turner as his work in the lettering of the plate.
It was probably etched by the engraver, H. Dawe.
A first state of the etching is claimed in the Boston Catalogue.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Three narrow horizontal light clouds in sky. Before falling water between foreground

54. MILL NEAR THE GRAND CHARTREUSE *continued*

trees. Many lights scraped by Turner. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye (touched), BOSTON ex Taylor and Rawlinson (touched), and G. E. BLOOD. All before letters.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *Dovecotes XI, XII. T. Richard (a) and (b).*

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below left lower corner of plate.
Still fine. Rare. *Dovecote XII.*

THIRD STATE

A second stroke added to left of and parallel with the first.
Still fine. No re-work. *Dovecote XII. Dupuy VI, VIII.*

FOURTH STATE

Same mark, with dot added in D of DAUPHINY in title.
Still good in early impressions, which are on laid paper and in cooler ink. Later impressions are on wove paper.

COPIES

BY T. LUPTON.

ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$; $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Printed with slight tint.

MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$; $7\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Lettered: "Mill near the Grand Chartreuse, Dauphiny. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. London Engd & Pubd by Thos Lupton. 4. Keppel St. Proof. No 3."
Foreground rocks darker than in original. Dull and heavy.

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield, with the date "'85." Lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."

MEZZOTINT. First State, lettered as etching.
Second State. Same lettering, with publication line added: "London, Published 1st May, 1886, by Robt Dunthorne at The Rembrandt Head in Vigo Street."

STRANGE, No. 39.

55. ENTRANCE OF CALAIS HARBOUR

Issued in Part XI.

55. ENTRANCE OF CALAIS HARBOUR

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

ENTRANCE OF CALAIS HARBOUR.
Drawn Etched & Engraved by I. M. W. Turner. R.A.
Published Jan.ʸ 1. 1816. by Mr. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{15}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing is known for this plate.
The oil painting (28 × 38 in.) was exhibited at the R.A., 1884, Guildhall, 1892, and at Glasgow, 1901. It is here reproduced in place of the drawing, by the courtesy of Messrs. Knoedler and Co.

ETCHING

No preliminary etching was made. The etched lines in the plate were bitten-in during the progress of the engraving.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky not made out, and sea and boats only begun. Margins not cleaned. Before letters. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*b*) Etched lines added. Nearly completed. Barge-board of nearest smack dark. "Calais" in faintly etched letters in margin. Printed in black ink. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Stokes, Heywood Hawkins, and Vaughan, and ALLEN ex W. B.

Cooke, and Cathcart (HERE REPRODUCED). (*c*) Barge-board lightened. Sepia. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*d*) Mezzotint added on sky. Lettered as First State. BOSTON.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Hull and jib of foremost smack lightened. Pennant on mast in centre lightened. Waves in front of nearest smack lightened and some splashes of white foam added below and to left. Rare. *Dovecotes XI, XII. T. Richard* (*a*).

SECOND STATE

Still before any mark in margin. Two dark bands of mezzotint added along side of nearest smack over the etched lines. Light clouds added in sky to right of and above ship coming out of harbour. Three light stripes added on flag of ship which has just left harbour.
Dovecote XII.

THIRD STATE

A single diagonal line about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below left lower corner of plate. *T. Richard* (*a*) *and* (*b*).

FOURTH STATE

A second stroke added to left of and parallel with first. *T. Richard* (*a*).

FIFTH STATE

Same marks, but dot added in centre of O of HARBOUR in title.
(This state is given on Mr. Rawlinson's authority. I have never seen an example of it.)

SIXTH STATE

Dot in centre of O of OF, instead of HARBOUR.
Dark line added crossing barge-board of nearest boat near its centre. Head of left man in boat darkened and light added about his neck. *T. Richard* (*b*). *Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

56. DUMBLAIN ABBEY

Issued in Part XI.

56. DUMBLAIN ABBEY

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A

DUMBLAIN ABBEY, SCOTLAND.
Drawn & Etch'd by I. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.
Engrav'd by T. Lupton.
Publish'd Jany 1, 1816. by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, C. Sketched during Turner's Scotch tour in 1801. The pencil drawing from nature was made in the "Smaller Fonthill" Sketch Book. It is now in the Ruskin Drawing School, Oxford, No. 145. It shows the whole of the building, with suggestions of figures washing in the foreground. Another sketch of same subject is in "Scotch Lakes" Sketch Book, T.B., LVI, pp. 145a, 146.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Twelve in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky light, landscape flat and vague. BOSTON ex Taylor. (*b*) Sky darkened. Lights and shadows added on wooded slope. BOSTON ex Rawlinson. (*c*) Clouds begun and central

mass of trees darkened. Touched. In margin Turner has written: "The sky must be much lighter and clearer, and until it possesses *both* the other parts have not their value. The parts marked × will nearly do; the figures require to be sharper as to the lights and shadows. Query have you got sufficient ground on the sky to bear scraping down? The parts by the tower look rather doubtful." BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. Same state. RUSKIN DRAWING SCHOOL, OXFORD. (*d*) Later. BRITISH MUSEUM (3), one ex Beckford, one ex Pye, and one ex Vaughan, ALLEN ex Horne, BOSTON (3), one touched ex Taylor, another ex Buccleuch and Rawlinson, BROCKLEBANK ex Stokes and Bullard, S. W. BROOKE, MISS E. STOPFORD BROOKE. All before letters. (*e*) Lettered, but before initial letter. Before large boulder at right was darkened. WINTHROP ex Taylor.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *Dovecotes IX, XI. T. Richard* (*a*).

SECOND STATE

A single short diagonal stroke in left upper margin, about $\frac{1}{8\frac{1}{2}}$ in. from corner of plate.
T. Richard (*b*).

THIRD STATE

Same mark, with two diagonal strokes added below right lower corner of plate; they are almost continuous, but a gap of about $\frac{1}{8\frac{1}{2}}$ in. separates them. *Dovecotes XII, XIII.*
Still fine. *T. Richard* (*b*).

FOURTH STATE

Same marks, with dot added in centre of O in SCOTLAND.
Sky worn; lower cloud on right has almost disappeared; also thread of dark clouds above in centre. Lights added on foliage above figures. *Dupuy VIII, X.*
Late impressions on wove paper.

57. NORHAM CASTLE

First Plate in Part XII.

(P) + proof b

57. NORHAM CASTLE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

NORHAM CASTLE ON THE TWEED.
the Drawing in the Possession of the late Lord Lascells
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner
Engraved by C Turner
Publish'd Jan 1, 1816. by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{9}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, D.
Sketched in 1798, and again on the Scottish tour of 1801. The earlier sketch is in "North of England" Sketch Book, T.B., XXXIV, p. 57; the later, in "Helmsley" Sketch Book, T.B., LII, pp. 44a, 45. The later sketch seems to have been used for this design.
Two water colours are known of this subject. One was exhibited at R.A. in 1798; probably the one since owned by Mr. Laundy Walters. The second, owned by Mrs. Thwaites, is probably the drawing referred to in the lettering of this plate.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7 \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Ten impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.
On an impression in Reiss Sale (May 1901) the following note appeared: "Sir, Pray favour me with Touching this Proof in pencil where you wish more Etching, as by the stopping

out, parts are not bit, and in future I will make an outline as it is impossible to alter much. I am, Sir, Yours truly. (sgd.) C. Turner." (Quoted from RAWLINSON, p. 229.)

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Closely trimmed. Upper clouds faint. Lights in sky and on water subdued. Reflections of windows of castle about $4\frac{14 \cdot 16}{16}$ in. from left border line. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye, ALLEN. (*b*) Upper clouds darkened. Bright lights added on water. Cows on bank at right darkened. ALLEN. (*c*) Sky and distant hills lightened; also bank on left above foreground cottage. Light intensified on wake of boat in m.-d. ALLEN, BOSTON. (*d*) Plate in nearly same condition, but worked on extensively in pencil and with white by Turner. He has darkened the light reflections of windows in centre tower, and added fresh lights about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. to their right. ALLEN ex Charles Turner, Hippisley, and Taylor. All the foregoing are before letters. (*e*) Lettered as First State, but never published. Alterations carried out. Reflections moved to right. Light on wake of boat subdued. Faint indications of rays to left of castle. In margin: "This is the colour I wish, but it must be observed that the same ink will not on all the plates produce the same effect, therefore two or more colours must be used, so that all the prints may appear the same tone. When the printer is well set in please to let me know.—The three Prints I have sent are more of the bistre colour than yours, and a fine rich bistre colour is the tint I want." ALLEN ex Stokes, Bale, and Horne (*Dovecote XII*). Same state. S. W. BROOKE. (*f*) Same lettering. Lights on cows on right, and on standing figure and reflections subdued. ALLEN, MISS E. STOPFORD BROOKE, BOSTON. (*g*) Same lettering. Rays added on right. Lights on sail in m.-d. subdued. ALLEN ex Harland Peck, BOSTON, V. AND A. MUSEUM, HORNBY, J.E.T.A., MRS. STANLEY BARNES, COURTAULD.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Rays of light behind Castle completed. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. from right lower corner of plate.

THIRD STATE

A second and longer line added below first.
No re-work. Still fine in early impressions. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*
Late impressions on wove paper. *T. Richard* (*b*).

(A late and worn impression, touched and scraped by Turner, apparently for re-working, appeared in the Turner Sale. Now in the collection of Mr. A. A. Allen ex Taylor. The intended alterations appear not to have been made.)

COPY

BY T. LUPTON.

ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7 \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. No lettering. *J. Whatman* 1846.

MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7 \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Some proofs, printed in brown ink, without any lettering. Others lettered: "NORHAM CASTLE. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. Proof."

These copies are deceptive, especially when printed in brown ink, and without lettering. The light clouds above the ruined part of castle on extreme right are omitted. The shapes of the light upper clouds and those on left will be found to contain many slight differences from the original.

58. BERRY POMEROY CASTLE

Usually called RAGLAN CASTLE.
Issued in Part XII.

58. BERRY POMEROY CASTLE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E. P.
Drawn & Engraved by I M W Turner Esqr RA
Publish'd Jan 1. 1816 by I. M. W. Turner Queen Ann Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{11}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, E.
Probably sketched during Turner's Devonshire tour in 1812 or 1813.
The correct name of this plate is given in Turner's list of E. P. subjects in "Liber Notes (2)" Sketch Book, T.B., CLIV(a), p. 26a.

ETCHING

$8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7\frac{11}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$. Not claimed by Turner in lettering. It is generally supposed to be by H. Dawe.
Exceedingly rare. No impressions in the Turner Sale. Only five are known, one of them being in the British Museum.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Subject blocked out, with very little detail. BOSTON ex Stokes, Ruskin, and Rawlinson.
(*b*) Sky lightened at horizon. Lights added on foliage, etc. Black ink. BOSTON ex Stokes.
(*c*) Lights added on towers of castle, on foliage, and water. Very dark brown ink. BOSTON

ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*d*) Before clouds in sky, slanting support to bridge, and moorhen on water, were added. BRITISH MUSEUM (2), one ex F. R. Say, one ex Vaughan, ALLEN ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor. (*e*) Waterhen added. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor. All before letters. (*f*) Lettered as First State. Slanting support added to bridge on left. Almost completed; but no etched lines inside mullions or windows in castle, and before upper part of dark clouds just above foliage on left was subdued. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*
Etched lines added inside mullions, and upper dark clouds on left subdued. Rare. *T. Richard* (*a*).

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal line below right lower corner of plate. *T. Richard* (*b*).

THIRD STATE

A second diagonal stroke added below and parallel to the first.
Re-worked on left and on distant foliage over bridge; hills below distant single tree on extreme left darkened; lights taken out or brightened on foreground and centre foliage.
Generally brilliant and restless in early impressions. *T. Richard* (*a*).
Latest impressions in cooler ink and on wove paper.

(Mr. Rawlinson gives a Fourth State, which is again "heavily re-worked, especially in foreground." I have not seen such an impression.)

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.
LITHOGRAPH. $7\frac{5}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$. Lettered: "Raglan Castle. &c."
Copied from a Proof before etched lines inside mullions.
Plate 11 in Day and Son's "Selection."

BY T. LUPTON.
ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{13}{16} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$. Printed with slight tone over plate. No lettering.
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7\frac{13}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$. Lettered: "E.M. RAGLAN CASTLE Drawn by J. M. W. Turner. R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. London, Pubd Jany 1858, by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co 13 & 14, Pall Mall East, & The Engraver, 4, Keppel St. W.C. Proof. Pl. I."
Distance between left border-line and plate-mark in this copy is $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; in original plate it is only $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $7\frac{5}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield and date '85. Lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. First State. Same lettering.
Second State. Publication line added: "London, Published 1st Augt 1885, by Robt Dunthorne at The Rembrandt Head in Vigo Street."
STRANGE, No. 37, as "Raglan Castle."

59. VILLE DE THUN

Issued in Part XII

59. VILLE DE THUN

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A

VILLE DE THUN;—SWITZERLAND.
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner R.A.
Engraved by Thos Hodgetts
Published Jany 1. 1816, by Mr Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, F.
Sketched during Turner's first Swiss tour in 1802. The pencil sketch from nature is in "Lake Thun" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXVI, p. 48.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7 \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Lettered in lower margin: "Thun."
Twelve impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Only 5 known. All with etched lettering.
(*a*) Sky-light half-tone with clouds slightly suggested. Only straight horizontal light ripples on water. No light at bow of boat on right. ALLEN ex Irvine Smith and Murray, BOSTON ex Stokes, Reiss, and Rawlinson. (*b*) Dark upper clouds darkened slightly. Dotted etched

lines added defining contours in dark and light clouds on right. Hill slopes beyond centre tower darkened with roulette. Lights added on right of wall below centre tower and on walls of first adjoining house; also on distant houses at water's edge, on figures, trees, and foreground. High lights added on water at bow of boat, and some zigzag lights below. ALLEN ex Cathcart, BOSTON ex Taylor.
The present owner of the fifth proof, ex Taylor, is not known.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *Dovecotes XI, XII. T. Richard (b).*

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below left lower corner of plate.

THIRD STATE

A second stroke added parallel to the first. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*
Worn slightly, but no re-work. *T. Richard (a).*
Some impressions in cooler ink. *Wove.*

60. THE SOURCE OF THE ARVERON

Issued in Part XII.

60. THE SOURCE OF THE ARVERON

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M
The SOURCE of the ARVERON in the VALLEY of CHAMOUNI SAVOY.
Drawn & Engraved by I. M. W. Turner. R.A.
Publish[d] Jan[y] 1. 1816, by M[r] Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{13}{16} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, G.
Sketched in 1802. Two sketches of this subject in "St. Gothard" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXV, pp. 20, 21.
A water colour of this subject at Farnley Hall differs considerably from the engraving.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Not claimed by Turner in lettering of plate. It is usually ascribed, probably correctly, to H. Dawe.
FIRST STATE. Stem of large pine on right continued down to lower border. Only one example of this state known. ALLEN ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor.
SECOND STATE. Right lower corner entirely altered. Boulders take the place of pine and herbage. These alterations are believed to have been made by Turner himself. Very rare. None in the Turner Sale. Only 4 known; one in British Museum.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Dark. Drawn upon in white and pencil by Turner. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*b*) Corrections carried out. Paper scraped for lights on clouds. BOSTON, same provenance. Both before letters.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. Very rare. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below left lower corner of plate.
Very rare.

THIRD STATE

A second line added below and parallel to the first.
Glacier lightened, but no other re-work. In early impressions still very fine.
Later impressions in cooler ink. Still fine. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*
Late impressions on wove paper. *T. Richard* (*a*).

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.
LITHOGRAPH. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$. Lettered: "The Source of the Arveron" &c.
Plate 10 in Day and Son's "Selection."

BY T. LUPTON.
ETCHING. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{13}{32}$.
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Some before letters, others lettered: "THE SOURCE OF THE ARVERON IN THE VALLEY OF CHAMOUNI SAVOY. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Thos Lupton. London: Published 1860 by P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. 13 & 14 Pall Mall East: & The Engraver, 4, Keppel St. W.C. *Proof.* No 1."

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield, and date '86.
Lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. First State. Same lettering.
Second State. Publication line added, with date "1st Nov. 1886."
STRANGE, No. 44.

61. TENTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT

Issued in Part XII.

61. TENTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H

TENTH PLAGUE OF EGYPT
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq RA
Engraved by W Say Engraver to H R H the Duke of Gloucester
Published Jan 1. 1816 by I M W Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{31}{32} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, H.
The oil painting was exhibited R.A. 1802, No. 153, and is now in the National Gallery, No. 470.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7 \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Fourteen in the Turner Sale.
A first state, unfinished, with corrections in pencil and blue, is at Boston.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Early; before lights on buildings on right, and before letters or markings in left upper corner. Single line of lightning. Touched. BRITISH MUSEUM, ex Beckford. HORNBY (touched). (*b*) Markings added and second line of lightning, cutting off corner which touches foliage on left. BRITISH MUSEUM, ALLEN ex Bale, BOSTON ex Rawlinson, and another ex Taylor. All before letters.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Two lines of lightning. The fainter line is a continuation of the diagonal line which strikes distant dark temple in centre. This line is continued till it touches the dark foliage on its left; it then runs upwards to the right. The second line, which is thicker and more brilliant, cuts across the first line above the centre seated figure.

Dovecotes XI, XII. T. Richard (a) and (b).

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke just over $\frac{1}{16}$ in. from left upper corner of plate.
The two lines of lightning still showing. *T. Richard (a).*

THIRD STATE

A single diagonal stroke added about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below right lower corner of plate.
The two lines of lightning still showing. *T. Richard (a).*

FOURTH STATE

Same marks as before.
Only one line of lightning now shows. Sky, distant buildings, and right lower corner re-worked. Lightning is now thicker, shape of dark cloud just above broken tree-trunk in upper left is now rounded, with light added below. Base of distant temple continued in a straight line till it touches the trees in centre. *Dovecotes XI, XII. Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

(Mr. Rawlinson gives another state, with two parallel lines at left (? right) lower corner. I have not seen one.)

62. WATERCRESS GATHERERS

First Plate in Part XIII.

62. WATERCRESS GATHERERS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

WATER CRESS GATHERERS Rails Head Ferry Bridge Twickenham.
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq R.A.P.P.
Engraved by Thos. Lupton.
Pub. Jan. 1. 1819. by I. M. W. Turner Queen Anne. Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing is known.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Twelve in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before girl carrying child. Touched. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor. (*b*) Girl carrying child added in sepia. Lights scraped and clouds washed with Chinese white. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor (HERE REPRODUCED). (*c*) Corrections carried out. Lines of braid on man's coat and bricks of bridge indicated. BOSTON ex Stokes and Rawlinson. (*d*) Before dark clouds in upper left were added, and before double lines of braid on man's coat were inserted in plate. Extensively touched and many lights scraped. J. HUTCHINSON ex Stokes and Reiss. (*e*) Corrections carried out. Lights added on clouds, water, and on girl carrying child.

Double lines of braid added on man's coat. BOSTON (2), one ex Stokes, and another, touched, ex Taylor. (*f*) Completed; printed in cooler ink than published state. BRITISH MUSEUM, ALLEN ex Taylor. All before letters.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
In some early impressions "Rail Head" appears in title, instead of Rails Head.
Dovecote X.
(The impression in V. and A. Museum which is lettered, "Rail Head," has two dots inserted by hand below the end of the engraver's name in right lower margin.)

SECOND STATE

Two dots added about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. below the t and n, in "Lupton." *Dovecote X.*

THIRD STATE

A line connects the two dots, and a second line is added below and parallel to it.
Some impressions in cooler ink.
Still good in early impressions. No re-work, as the plate wore well.
Dovecote XIV. Wove.

63. ISLEWORTH

Generally called THE ALCOVE, ISLEWORTH, *and, erroneously,*
TWICKENHAM—POPE'S VILLA, *and* GARRICK'S TEMPLE
AND HAMPTON CHURCH.
Issued in Part XIII.

63. ISLEWORTH

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E.P
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner R.A.P.P.
Engraved by H. Dawe.
Pub. Jan. 1. 1819. by I. M. W. Turner Queen Anne Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$. Pen & sepia. NATIONAL GALLERY, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued in INVENTORY OF TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, 1.
Turner had made a water colour of old Isleworth Church when he was about 13 years old. He was then living with his uncle at Brentford. In 1804, he was living at Sion Ferry House, Isleworth (see his address written in STUDIES FOR PICTURES, ISLEWORTH SKETCH BOOK, T.B., XC), a house which stands behind the group of trees which appear on the right of this plate. The view is little changed to-day.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Eleven impressions in the Turner Sale.
Several slight but important changes made from the drawing; *e.g.*, tops of trees on right are brought within the design, more space is given on the right, and the reflection of the slender tree to right of church is straightened.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Light clouds only in upper sky at left. Light reflections below centre trees are slanting. Closely trimmed. BOSTON ex Pocock. (*b*) Sky completed. Light reflections in centre straightened. Before separate reflections of pinnacles of Church tower. Church tower dark, with etched lines as in the etching. Before letters. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye (*T. Richard* (*b*)), and ALLEN (cut close). (*c*) Buttresses added to Church tower, with additional etched lines. Lettered as First State. WINTHROP, and BOSTON (2), one ex Turner Sale, the other ex Stokes, Gambier Parry, and Rawlinson. (*d*) Pinnacles of Church tower defined in reflection, but before additional etched lines defining lower edge of parapet in Church tower. Same lettering. ALLEN ex Knowles.
A Proof from the Taylor Sale is unaccounted for.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Additional etched lines in Church tower defining lower parapet.
Rare. *Dovecote IX.*

SECOND STATE

Two dots below engraver's name inserted by hand. They differ slightly in position in each impression.
The Church is as in First State.
Little if at all inferior to First State. Rare. *Dovecote XIII.*

THIRD STATE

Two dots engraved about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. below engraver's name.
Church tower is lightly re-rocked; curved line of light added on left of foliage below Church tower.
(I have seen one impression of this state in which the dots are inserted by hand and joined by a line.)
Still little inferior to First State. *Dovecote XIII.*

FOURTH STATE

Line now connects the two dots, and a second line (fainter) is added below.
Church tower again re-rocked and darkened.
Still very fine in earlier impressions. *Dovecote XIII.*
Later ones in browner ink. *Dupuy VIII.*
Latest on wove paper.

COPY

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.
LITHOGRAPH. $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{8}{8}$. Lettered: "Twickenham &c."
Plate 4 in Day and Son's "Selection."

64. BONNEVILLE

Issued in Part XIII.

Beckford, and ALLEN. (*b*) Small dark clouds and thin edges of light clouds added. Lights under arches of bridge. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor, and another ex Rawlinson and Pocock whose present owner is unknown. All before letters. (*c*) Lettered as First State. Before several small light clouds and lights on distant mountains on left. ALLEN ex Horne (*Dovecote XI*).

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. Rare. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. from top left-hand corner of plate.
Rare. *Dovecote XII.*

THIRD STATE

A single diagonal stroke added about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. from right lower corner of plate.
Bridge lightened and high lights added on parapet on its left side, and on water in foreground. Bold lights added in sky on right immediately above summits of mountains. Sometimes printed in cooler ink than before.
Still fine in early impressions. *Dovecote XI. T. Richard* (*a*). *Wove.*

(Mr. Rawlinson gives another state, with "two parallel diagonal strokes at right lower corner." I have never seen an impression.)

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield. Lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. First State. Same lettering.
Second State. Publication line added, with date "1st Nov. 1887."
STRANGE, No. 42.

65. INVERARY CASTLE AND TOWN

Issued in Part XIII.

Beckford, and ALLEN. (*b*) Small dark clouds and thin edges of light clouds added. Lights under arches of bridge. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor, and another ex Rawlinson and Pocock whose present owner is unknown. All before letters. (*c*) Lettered as First State. Before several small light clouds and lights on distant mountains on left. ALLEN ex Horne (*Dovecote XI*).

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. Rare. *Dovecotes XI, XII.*

SECOND STATE

A single diagonal stroke about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. from top left-hand corner of plate.
Rare. *Dovecote XII.*

THIRD STATE

A single diagonal stroke added about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. from right lower corner of plate.
Bridge lightened and high lights added on parapet on its left side, and on water in foreground. Bold lights added in sky on right immediately above summits of mountains. Sometimes printed in cooler ink than before.
Still fine in early impressions. *Dovecote XI. T. Richard* (*a*). *Wove.*

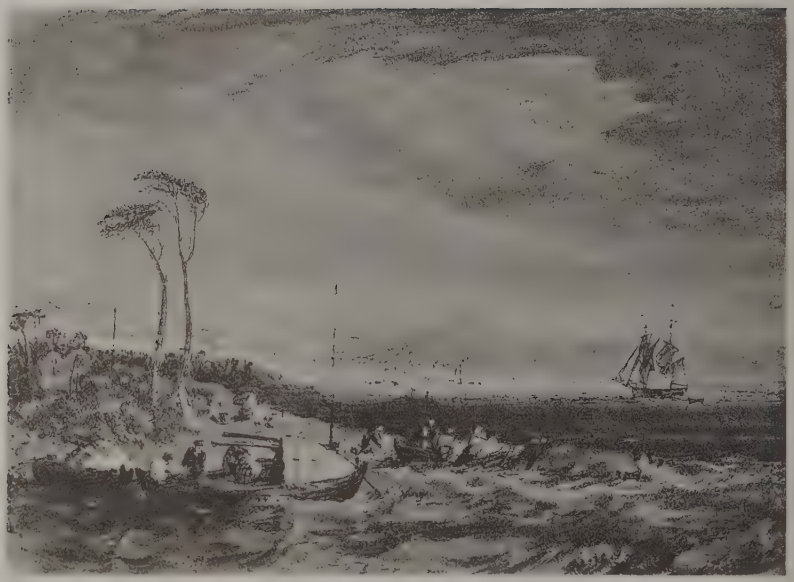
(Mr. Rawlinson gives another state, with "two parallel diagonal strokes at right lower corner." I have never seen an impression.)

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield. Lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. First State. Same lettering.
Second State. Publication line added, with date "1st Nov. 1887."
STRANGE, No. 42.

65. INVERARY CASTLE AND TOWN

Issued in Part XIII.



65. INVERARY CASTLE AND TOWN

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

INVERARY CASTLE AND TOWN, SCOTLAND.
the Drawing in the Possession of the Duke of Argyle.
Drawn & Etched by I M W Turner
Engraved by C Turner
Pub Jan 1. 1816. by I. M. W. Turner Queen Anne Street West

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, K.
Sketched during Scottish tour of 1801. Sketches in "Scotch Lakes" Sketch Book, T.B., LVI, pp. 38a, 38c, 39, and among "Scottish Pencils," LVIII, 9, 10 etc.
The water-colour ($22 \times 32\frac{1}{2}$ in.) painted for the Duke of Argyll was sold at Christie's, 13 Dec., 1918, from the F. S. Ellis collection.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Thirteen in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1810.
An impression with the distant hills re-drawn in pencil. ALLEN ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Very early and dark. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor. (*b*) Lightened, but before centre

hill was altered in shape. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford, and ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor. (*c*) Centre hill altered in shape and lowered. Castle enlarged. Distant hills and whole plate lightened. ALLEN ex Mendel, Addington, and Horne. (*d*) Before light clouds on right and in centre. ALLEN ex Irvine Smith and Murray. (*e*) Touched. Signed by Charles Turner. ALLEN. (*f*) Almost completed. Ropes on brig and on both boats in foreground added in pencil. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor.
All before letters.
Other proofs, also before letters, J.E.T.A. (2) ex Taylor, BOSTON (4), one ex Heywood Hawkins and Reiss, one ex Rawlinson, and one ex Buccleuch.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin. *Dovecote X.*
Ropes on brig and foreground boats engraved.
Extremely rare.

(A number of impressions which from their condition and the colour of the ink might be taken for First States, have signs of erasure where the mark of the Second State was made. It is possible that the erasure may have been made by Turner, who is known to have made similar erasures on some other plates.)

SECOND STATE

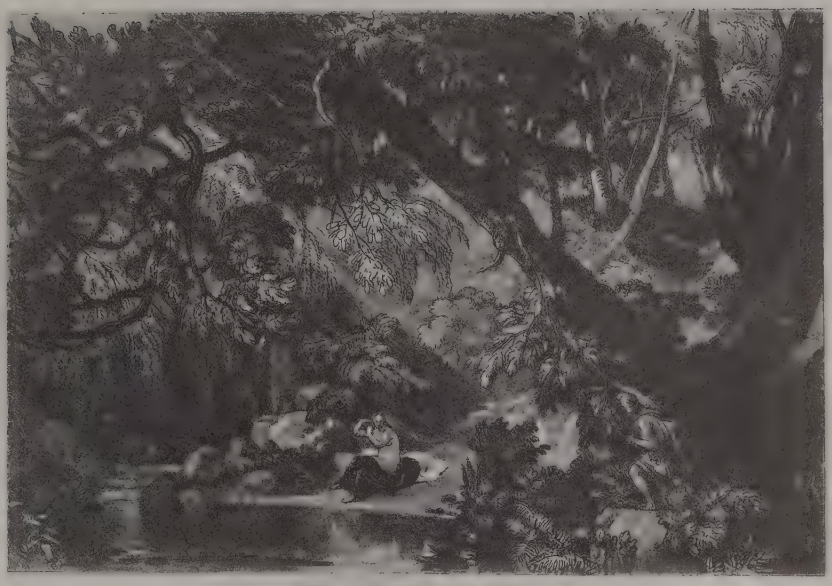
Two dots added about $\frac{1}{16}$ in. below "er" in "C Turner."
Also rare.

THIRD STATE

Dots connected by a line, with a second line added below.
Still good in early impressions. *Dovecote X.*
Generally printed in cooler ink than first two states. *Dupuy. Wove.*

66. ÆSACUS AND HESPERIE

Issued in Part XIII.



66. ÆSACUS AND HESPERIE

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H

ÆSACUS AND HESPERIĒ Vide Ovid Met^{s} Book XI.
Drawn Etched. & Engraved by I. M. W. Turner Esq R.A.P.P.
Pub. Jan 1. 1819. by I. M. W. Turner Queen Anne Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{3}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing is known for this subject.
An impression of the etching fully worked in sepia is in the Turner Bequest, CXVIII, L. It is here reproduced.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. An unusually large number seems to have been printed, as no less than 30 impressions appeared in the Turner Sale.
FIRST STATE. Line of water and some lines on rocks are missing. An impression at Boston ex Rawlinson has these lines added in pencil.
SECOND STATE. Lines added. (HERE REPRODUCED.) *J. Whatman* 1813.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Very dark and early. Hesperie robed in white with no drapery on ground beside her. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Stokes and Vaughan, BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor, ALLEN.

(*b*) Hesperie's face darkened; also drapery over her knees. Light drapery added on ground to her right. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pye, BOSTON (touched) ex Stokes. All before letters. (*c*) Lettered as First State, but without initial H. Before diagonal rays of light from upper left. V. AND A. MUSEUM ex Dr. Percy, BOSTON (2, one ex Ruskin), RYLANDS ex Heywood Hawkins (*Dupuy IX*), WINTHROP ex Bullard. (*d*) Initial letter added, but before diagonal rays. Present owner unknown, ex Rawlinson.

FIRST STATE

No mark in margin. Face of Hesperie uncovered and turned towards Æsacus.
Rays of light from upper left through trees.
Extremely rare.

SECOND STATE

Face of Hesperie turned from Æsacus, but before sandals were added on Æsacus. Touched. MRS. STANLEY BARNES.

THIRD STATE

Still no mark in margin.
Æsacus shod with sandals. Reflection of Hesperie and the water below re-worked.

FOURTH STATE

Two dots added in right lower margin.
In some early impressions these dots are put in by hand. When engraved they are $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below right lower corner of plate.
High light added on hair of Hesperie. Distant hills in upper right worn. *Dovecote X.*

FIFTH STATE

A line joining the two dots is put in by hand, and another line, also put in by hand, is added below the first.
Mezzotint of Hesperie's head beginning to wear.

SIXTH STATE

The two lines engraved on the plate.
Mezzotint of Hesperie's hair has almost disappeared, leaving little more than the etched lines. *Dovecote XIV.*
Distant hills seen through trees almost gone. No re-work. *Dupuy VIII. Wove.*

COPIES

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST.
LITHOGRAPH. $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered: "Æsacus and Hesperie." etc.
Copy of Engraver's Proof (*c*) before diagonal rays of light from upper left.
Plate 7 in Day and Son's "Selection."

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield. Lettered: "Frank Short Sculp. after J. M. W. Turner R.A."
MEZZOTINT. First State. A few proofs without lettering.
Second State. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield. Lettered: "Æsacus and Hesperiē F. Short Sculp. after J. M. W. Turner R.A. 1895."
STRANGE, No. 198.
Copy of First State, in which Hesperie's face is uncovered and turned towards Æsacus.

67. EAST GATE, WINCHELSEA

First Plate in Part XIV.

67. EAST GATE, WINCHELSEA

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

P

EAST GATE WINCHELSEA Sussex
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.
Pub. Jan. 1. 1819, by I. M. W. Turner. Queen Anne Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8 \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, M.
Sketched about 1806. The pencil sketch is in "Sussex" Sketch Book, T.B., XCII, p. 44.

ETCHING

$7\frac{15}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Seven in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Only two known, both before letters. (*a*) Lights on sky, sheep, cattle, and figures. Apparently completed. ALLEN ex Stokes, Hawkins (1904), and Horne. (*b*) Largely re-rocked; all the lights on sky, cattle, sheep, and figures darkened. Darks rocked on foliage of tree on right. ALLEN. (*c*) Cow and two sheep on left re-rocked. Wall above lightened. ALLEN. (HERE REPRODUCED instead of First State.)

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Shadows on cow and two sheep on left darkened. Fresh lights added on sheep. Left corner of archway in centre lightened; darks on foliage of forked tree on right subdued.
Extremely rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

SECOND STATE

Two dots just over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below right lower corner of plate.
Rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

THIRD STATE

A curved line connects the two dots. *Dupuy VIII.*

FOURTH STATE

A second line added below the first.
Lights in sky and on sheep, figures, and landscape in middle distance brightened.
Early impressions, generally printed in cooler ink, are fine.
Dupuy VIII. Dovecote XV. Wove.

68. ISIS

Issued in Part XIV.

68. ISIS

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

E P
ISIS
Picture in the Possesion of the Earl of Egremont. 3 Feet by 4 Feet
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by W. Say Engraver to H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.
London. Pub. Jan. 1. 1819 by I. M. W. Turner Queen Anne Str. West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, N.
The picture referred to in title is an oil painting: "The Thames at Weybridge—with Windsor Castle and Bridge in distance," now in Lord Leconfield's collection at Petworth. It is evidently a "composition" or *capriccio*, not a topographical view. It was painted about 1808.
Studies for the picture in "Studies for Pictures; Isleworth" Sketch Book, T.B., LXXXIX, p. 6, etc.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Eleven in the Turner Sale.
FIRST STATE. Upper line of cornice of classical building, and lines of distant bridge and

hill, marked in ink by Turner for alteration. Above the outlines of distant hill he has written: "Too strong." V. RIENAECKER.
SECOND STATE. Upper line of cornice raised, and distant bridge and hill lightened. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Bird above water on left larger than afterwards. Touched. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Say and Pye. (*b*) Bird on left smaller. Bridge on left darkened in parts. Shape of peacock's body altered, and dark line on right of its tail enlarged. BRITISH MUSEUM ex F. R. Say, and BROCKLEBANK ex Stokes and Hawkins (1904). (*c*) Sky re-rocked and lights added on cumulus clouds in lower centre. Foliage below pine on left lightened. Three lines of light added under right of bridge. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. All before letters. There are also two proofs, also before letters, at BOSTON, one ex Rawlinson, and one ex Say.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Sky lightened, and light reflections in water on left. Foliage below pine on left further lightened.
Extremely rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

(A number of impressions which from their quality might be taken for First States have signs of erasure where the mark of the Second State was made. See note under 65, I.)

SECOND STATE

Two dots below right lower corner of plate inserted by hand.

THIRD STATE

Two dots now engraved about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. below right lower corner of plate.

FOURTH STATE

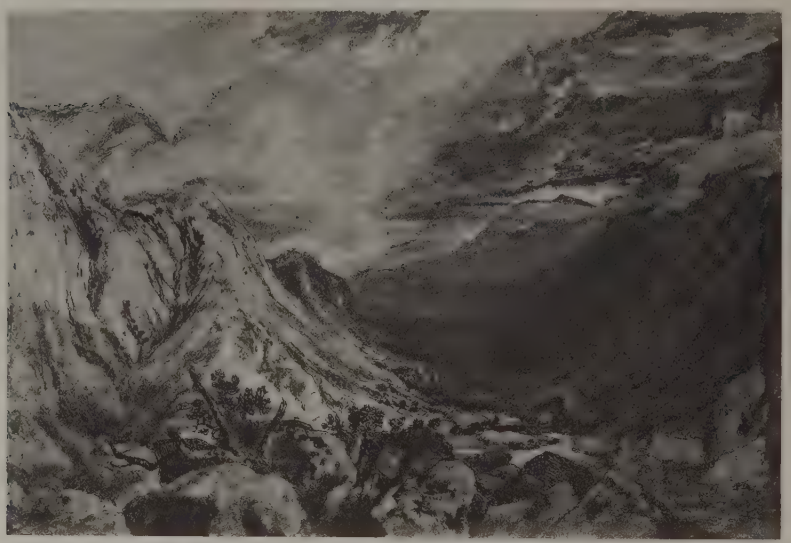
Two dots joined by a line.

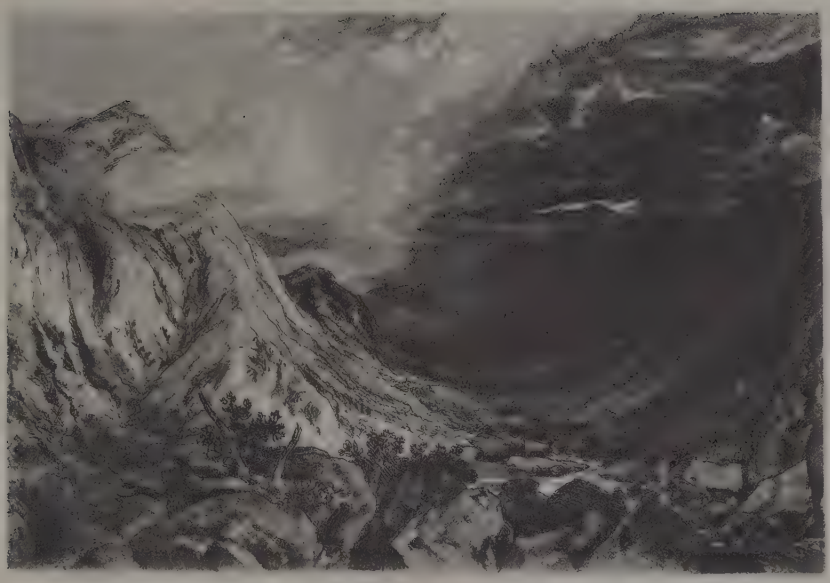
FIFTH STATE

A second line added below and parallel to first.
Slightly worn, but still fine in early impressions. *Dupuy X.*
Reflection of bird on left still quite plain in very late impressions on wove paper.

69. BEN ARTHUR

Issued in Part XIV.





69. BEN ARTHUR

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

M

BEN ARTHUR. SCOTLAND.
Drawn. & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq. R.A.P.P.
Engraved by T. Lupton.
London. Pub. Jan 1. 1819. by. I. M. W. Turner Queen Anne Str West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing for this plate is known.
The subject was sketched in 1801; pencil sketches in "Tummel Bridge" Sketch Book, T.B., LVII, and drawings in black and white chalk on tinted paper among "Scottish Pencils," LVIII.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Eleven in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Very dark and early. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor, BOSTON. (*b*) Lightened. Lights scratched on foreground rocks. Touched. Before margins were cleaned. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Stokes and Vaughan. (HERE REPRODUCED.) (*c*) Sky, clouds, etc., lightened. BOSTON ex

Reiss. (*d*) Outline of peak at left altered. Touched. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. All before letters. (*e*) Lettered as First State, except that initial M is missing. Completed but for some light clouds on peak at left. ALLEN ex Stokes, Bale, and Harland Peck.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Extremely rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

SECOND STATE

Two dots nearly $\frac{3}{16}$ in. below right lower corner of plate.
Rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

THIRD STATE

A line starting from left dot is carried over and beyond the right dot; a second line is added below and parallel to the first. The right-hand dot coming between these two lines produces the effect of a capital H placed on its side.
Very fine in early impressions. *Dupuy VIII, IX.*
Late impressions on wove paper.
A late impression, worked on in sepia in parts by Turner is in Mr. Allen's collection, ex Taylor.

(Mr. Rawlinson gives a Fourth State, "reworked." I doubt if the plate was re-worked, but if it was it would constitute a Fourth State.)

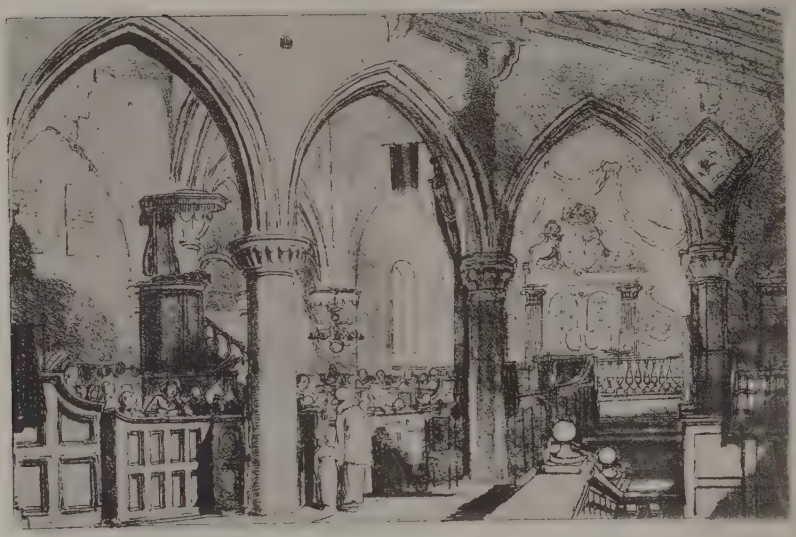
COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield. Lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. First State. Same lettering.
Second State. Publication line added: "London. Published March 1st 1888, by Robt Dunthorne at the Rembrandt Head in Vigo Street."
STRANGE, No. 46.

70. INTERIOR OF A CHURCH

Issued in Part XIV.



70. INTERIOR OF A CHURCH

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

A

INTERIOR OF A CHURCH.

Drawn & Engrav'd by I. M. W. Turner Esqr. R.A.

Publish'd Jany. 1, 1819. by I. M. W. Turner, Queen Ann Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{7}{16} \times 12$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ in.

ETCHING

In soft-ground. Only two impressions known, both at BOSTON ex Stokes, Heywood Hawkins, and Taylor. One contains more work than the other. The earlier of the two is here reproduced.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Rays of light from unseen source at upper right. ALLEN ex Stokes, Addington (?), and Heseltine [HERE REPRODUCED], BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson. (*b*) Re-mezzotinted. Many etched lines added. Intensely lighted walls beyond second arch reduced in tone. BOSTON ex Charles Turner. All before letters. (These proofs represent what has been called "the daylight effect.") (*c*) Lettered as First State, except that the date of year in publication line is "1816." Light now proceeds only from the candles. Dark and indistinct. ALLEN ex Stokes and Taylor, BOSTON (2), one ex Stokes, the other ex Rawlinson. (*d*) Same lettering. No cast shadows on wall on left from pulpit and awning. Before lights on upper part of wall beyond apex of centre arch. Before "God honor the King," before tablet on

left was defined, and before right foreground was lightened—on pews, balustrade, etc. J.E.T.A. ex Stokes and Taylor. (*e*) Whole plate lightened, and lights added on walls and communion table. ALLEN ex Stokes and Horne, BOSTON ex Stokes.
The present owner is not known of another Proof with daylight effect, from the Taylor Sale.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Date altered to "1819." Reflected lights added on left of foreground pillar.
Lights added on cornice seen under apex of centre arch, etc.
Rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

SECOND STATE

Two dots put in by hand below right lower corner of plate.
Rare.

THIRD STATE

Two dots now engraved about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below right lower corner of plate.
Little inferior to I. Rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

FOURTH STATE

Two dots joined by a line.

FIFTH STATE

Two lines added below the first.
Still good in early impressions. No re-work.

71. THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA

Issued in Part XIV.

The Woman of Samaria

71. THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA

LETTERING OF FIRST STATE:

H
CHRIST AND THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA
Drawn & Etched by I. M. W. Turner Esq R.A.P.P.
Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.
Pub. Jan. 1. 1819. by I. M. W. Turner Queen Anne Street West.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING
$8 \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, 0.

ETCHING
$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Lettered: "The Woman of Samaria."
Twelve in the Turner Sale.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS
(*a*) Etched lettering. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*b*) All foreground re-rocked. Before letters. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford. (*c*) Darkened and completed. Before letters. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson.
The present owner is unknown of the touched proof which appeared in the Buccleuch Sale.

FIRST STATE

Before any mark in margin.
Rare. *Dupuy VIII.*

SECOND STATE

Two dots added in pencil below "ds" in "Reynolds." *Dupuy VIII.*

THIRD STATE

Two dots engraved just over $\frac{1}{8}$ in. below right lower corner of plate. *Dupuy VIII.*

FOURTH STATE

A line joining the two dots. *Dupuy VIII, IX.*

FIFTH STATE

A second line added below and parallel to the first. *Dupuy VIII.*
No re-work in any state. The plate wore very well. *Dovecote XV. Wove.*

HERE END THE PUBLISHED PLATES

THE UNPUBLISHED PLATES

NOS. 72-91

72. APULEIA IN SEARCH OF APULEIUS

Also called THE PREMIUM LANDSCAPE.

Unpublished.

72. APULEIA IN SEARCH OF APULEIUS

ETCHED BY J. M. W. TURNER. ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM SAY.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

No drawing for this subject is known.

The oil painting [HERE REPRODUCED] is now in the National Gallery, Turner Bequest, No. 495. It was exhibited at the British Institution in 1814, and appeared in the catalogue under the title, "Apullia in search of Appullus—vide Ovid's Metamorph." It gained the premium of a hundred guineas for the best landscape of the year.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Six impressions in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1817.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Distant mountains on right of large rounded hill on left are only faintly indicated. Sky on right almost flat. ALLEN ex Stokes, Bullard, and Brocklebank. (HERE REPRODUCED.) Touched. BOSTON ex Say.

(*b*) Sky on right developed. Touched. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Say and Vaughan.

(*c*) Distant mountains defined and sky lightened. ALLEN ex Say and Taylor. Same state,

touched; lights added on garment round waist of Apuleia, etc. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford.

(*d*) Lights marked on (*c*) incorporated in plate. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford.

(*e*) Building introduced at foot of distant hills. Dress of Apuleia darkened. Touched. BOSTON ex Say.

(*f*) Veil added over head of Apuleia. Practically finished. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Say, BOSTON ex Bale and Rawlinson.

In addition to the nine proofs here accounted for, there is a tenth which is not accounted for, viz., one of the two proofs which appeared in the Taylor sale.

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The finished copper-plate was sold in the Turner Sale in 1873.

The purchaser's name, according to the priced catalogue in the V. & A. Museum Library, is "Pearson," the price £189. Some impressions were taken from the plate immediately before the sale, probably on India paper, and many others were subsequently printed on stout, smooth modern paper, and a few on old French paper (wove) like that used for the original "Liber" plates.

Afterwards, the remaining mezzotinting was cleaned off, and some impressions of the resuscitated etching were printed. These impressions show that a scratch had been made down the centre of the plate, which was afterwards burnished out, but by whom and when this was done I have not been able to discover. The impressions of the etching which were obtained in this way are unexpectedly good, only a few of the finer lines having been lost.

73. GLAUCUS AND SCYLLA

Unpublished.

73. GLAUCUS AND SCYLLA

ETCHED BY J. M. W. TURNER. ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM SAY.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{7}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, P.

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; $7 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Ten in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1813.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before sun was engraved. Sun and rays scraped. Touched. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford.

(*b*) Sun with rays engraved. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford (touched), and BOSTON (3), the first, ex Stokes, Gambier Parry, and Rawlinson, the second (touched), ex Say and Rawlinson, the third, ex Stokes and Taylor.

(*c*) Right side of distant headland below sun turned into steep cliff. Six short bars of light added on waves near margin at lower left. BOSTON.

(*d*) Sky and nearer headland re-rocked and re-worked. Rays of sun continued above first group of dark clouds. Touched. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan.

(*e*) Sky and nearer headland lightened. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Beckford.
(*f*) Sky further lightened and rays subdued. Right side of distant headland lightened all over. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan.
(*g*) Touched. Paper scraped for sails in left distance. BOSTON ex Say.
(*h*) Two sails in left distance engraved. Sky still further lightened and rays less evident. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Say. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate appeared in the Turner Sale. It is priced in the V. & A. Museum catalogue of the sale at £59 5*s*., the buyer's name being given as "Smart". Mr. Rawlinson says, however, that the plate was bought-in at the sale, and that he acquired it subsequently. He had between twenty and thirty impressions printed from it, which he regarded as satisfactory.

74. WINDSOR CASTLE FROM SALT HILL

Called also SHEEP-WASHING, WINDSOR.

Unpublished.

74. WINDSOR CASTLE FROM SALT HILL

ETCHED BY J. M. W. TURNER. ENGRAVED BY CHARLES TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{7}{8} \times 12\frac{7}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, Q. Sketched June 1818. Pencil sketches in "Skies" Sketch Book, T.B., CLVIII, p. 62a, etc.
Entry in Mrs. Fawkes's diary for 4th June 1818:—"Went to Eton to see the boat race. Dined and slept at Salt Hill. Little Turner came with us."

ETCHING

$8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; $7 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Eleven in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1817.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Before turret was added on left tower of Castle. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Rawlinson, and ALLEN ex Addington, Knowles, and Brocklebank (HERE REPRODUCED).
(*b*) Slender tree added in grey colour above copse on right. Grass, water, etc., touched. BOSTON ex Buccleuch and Lees.
(*c*) Turret added to tower on left. Touched. In margin, in pencil, written by Charles

Turner: "As the drawing was," with his signature. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins and Reiss.

(*d*) Extensively touched with sepia and pencil, and scraped. Windows indicated in castle, flag added above round tower on right, and tree drawn in. On lower margin, written by Turner in pencil: "Put in the Tree and I will Etch the Lines afterwards." BOSTON ex Stokes and Bale.

(*e*) Tree added in mezzotint only. Windows added in castle and flag on round tower. ALLEN ex Irvine Smith and Murray, BOSTON (2), one ex Stokes and Taylor, the other, touched, ex Heywood Hawkins.

(*f*) Etched lines added on tree and in foreground. Touched. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson.

(*g*) Plate lightened generally and completed. On margin Turner has written in pencil: "Last impression February 1823." ALLEN ex Taylor (*Dupuy VIII*).

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate appeared in the Turner Sale. Bought by "Pearson" for £68 5*s*. Many impressions of it were afterwards printed on smooth modern paper; these have a weak and unsatisfactory appearance. The mezzotinting of the added tree is generally worn, leaving little more than the etched lines. When the plate was done with Mr. Rawlinson purchased it, had the worn mezzotint charcoaled down, and found that "all but the faintest lines of the Etching were still in fairly good preservation." The few missing lines were restored and a few impressions of the etching were printed and are now in circulation.

NOTE. The date in the water-mark of the original etchings proves that Mr. Rawlinson was wrong in saying that the engraving "was begun by Charles Turner as far back as 1812." His statement that the plate occasioned a quarrel between the painter and the engraver "which, with other causes, led to an estrangement which lasted for nineteen years," also seems doubtful in view of the date on Mr. Allen's latest proof.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. Signed "S" in shield in right lower corner of plate.

MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Signed "S" in shield in right lower corner of plate. Lettered: "Sheep-washing, Windsor. Drawn by J M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Sir F. Short. R.A, 1920." Not in STRANGE (which was published in 1908).

75. DUMBARTON ROCK

Unpublished.

75. DUMBARTON ROCK

ENGRAVED BY T. LUPTON. THE ETCHING IS USUALLY ATTRIBUTED TO J. M. W. TURNER, BUT IT IS PROBABLY BY ANOTHER HAND.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{13}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

Pen and Sepia. DRUMMOND COLLECTION, MONTREAL.

ETCHING

$8\frac{5}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$; $7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$. Seven in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1813. The reasons for doubting that this can be by Turner are given in "The History," in Chapter VII, on "The Etchings."

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Twin peaks of Dumbarton Rock of equal height. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson.
(*b*) Twin peaks changed in outline. Touched with pencil and lights scraped. BOSTON ex Stokes and Buccleuch.
(*c*) Sky behind birch in centre and on horizon lightened. BOSTON, ALLEN ex Irvine Smith and Murray.
(*d*) Thicket and trees behind figure at stile darkened. Lights added on clouds. ALLEN ex

Horne. Same state, inscribed at foot: "Unfinished. T. L. to A. White," and "Good & improving." ALLEN.

(*e*) High lights on thicket at left subdued, and high lights added on trees and road in foreground. Black ink. BOSTON ex Heugh. All before margins were cleaned.

(*f*) Right part of sky apparently re-rocked and completed. Black ink. Margins cleaned. Inscribed at bottom: "Given to me by Mr Ruskin. J.D. May '51." ALLEN ex Ruskin and Taylor. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

The present owner of another proof ex Lees is not known.

It is doubtful whether the impression in the British Museum is an original engraver's proof.

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate was still in the engraver's possession when Turner died. Some impressions were printed after Turner's death, some without lettering, some with the title and artist's and engraver's names added. One of these is in the British Museum, and one in the possession of the Trustees of the late Mr. J. E. T. Allen.

In 1874 the copper-plate was sold at Christie's among Lupton's effects. It was bought by Mrs. Noseda, who had about fifty impressions printed from it on smooth modern paper. These were lettered: "Dumbarton. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by Thomas Lupton. Proof."

76. CROWHURST

Unpublished.

76. CROWHURST

ETCHED BY J. M. W. TURNER. ENGRAVED BY H. DAWE.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{13}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, R.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{6\cdot7}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$. Seven in the Turner Sale.
Some printed in black and some in brown ink.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Only four known.
(*a*) A beginning. BOSTON ex Stokes and Taylor.
(*b*) Snow very light in foreground, middle-distance, and on distant hill on right. River light between stump of tree and bushes in lower right corner. Clouds on left as in drawing. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pocock and Rawlinson. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
(*c*) Foreground darkened; also snow in middle-distance and on distant hill on right. Sun added as faint disk near horizon on left, with additional lights in sky. BOSTON ex Stokes, Gambier Parry, and Rawlinson.

(*d*) It has been said that this is the latest proof, but it appears to be in the same state as (*c*).
RUSKIN DRAWING SCHOOL, OXFORD.
This plate, though it was nearly if not quite completed, did not appear in the Turner Sale. All efforts to trace it have been unsuccessful.
No modern impressions are known.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Signed with engraver's monogram on shield and date "1902."
MEZZOTINT. First State. A few proofs taken when in the state corresponding to Engraver's Proof (*a*), now at Boston ex Stokes and Taylor. Unsigned.
Second State. Signed "S" on shield, and lettered: "Crowhurst, Sussex. F. Short sculp: after J. M. W. Turner R.A. 1902."
STRANGE, No. 247.

77. THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER IN THE ISLAND OF ÆGINA

Unpublished.

77. THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER IN THE ISLAND OF ÆGINA

THE ETCHING IS GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO J. M. W. TURNER, BUT QUERY.
ENGRAVED BY H. DAWE.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{5}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, S. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
A second drawing, also in pen and sepia, owned jointly by Mr. J. V. and Mr. A. Hibbert, from the Mendel collection, is the original which was used for the etching and engraving. Turner exhibited two oil paintings of the Temple of Jupiter in R.A. 1816, Nos. 55 and 71. No. 71 appears to have been again exhibited, at the British Institution in 1817, No. 266; Title: "View of the Temple of Jupiter Panellenius in the Island of Ægina with the Greek National Dance of the Romaika; the Acropolis in the distance. Painted from a sketch taken by H. Gally Knight, Esq., in 1810." It is now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$. Seven in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1817.
Generally attributed to Turner, but the attribution is not convincing. See "The History," in Chapter VII, on "The Etchings."

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

That the engraving was by Dawe is proved by an entry in a list of "Liber" plates in Turner's handwriting on the cover of "Æsacus and Hesperie" Sketch Book, T.B., CLXIX. This subject is described as "Knight's Pic.", and it is bracketed with two other subjects as being engraved by "Daw."

Only four proofs are known.

(*a*) Before sea was lightened and before tree and shadows on left were darkened. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan.

(*b*) Foliage worked on in pencil and lights scraped on sky, sea, foliage, etc. On margin Turner has written in pencil: "Darks and Lights. FULLNESS OR RICHNESS OF WORK is wanting over the whole with sparkling lights upon the figures." BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson.

(*c*) Corrections carried out. BOSTON ex Taylor.

(*d*) Sky lightened and completed. Tree and bank on left darkened. Lights and darks added on figures and foreground. Lights added on sea and foliage in middle-distance, and on temple on right. ALLEN ex Stokes, Reiss, and Horne. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

The copper-plate, like that of "Crowhurst," has mysteriously disappeared. It did not appear in the Turner Sale, and all efforts to trace it have been unsuccessful.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. Signed "S" on shield in left lower corner of plate.

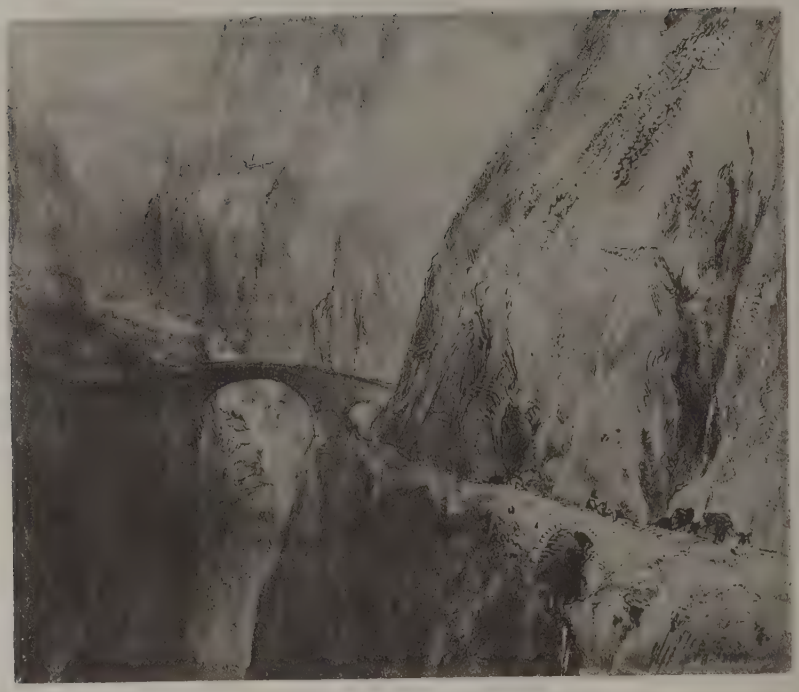
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$. Signed "S" on shield in left lower corner of plate. Lettered: "The Temple of Jupiter in the Island of Ægina. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by Sir F. Short. R.A. 1920."

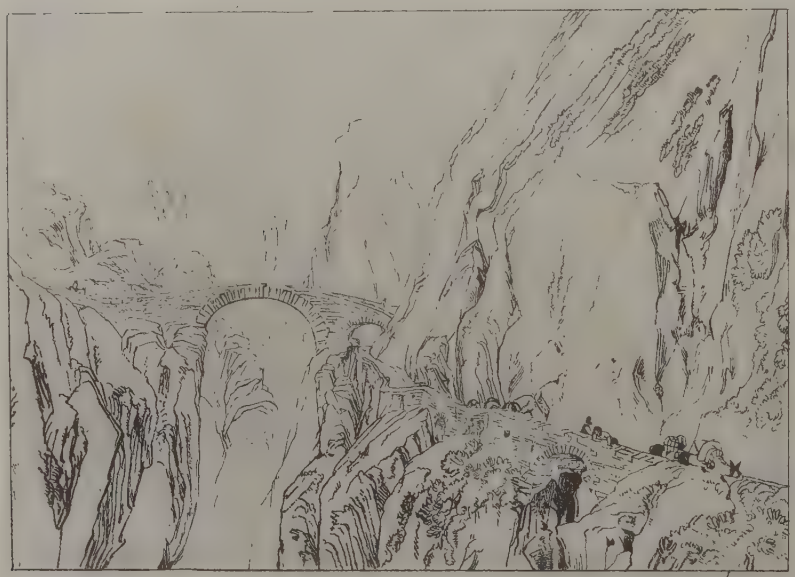
Not in STRANGE.

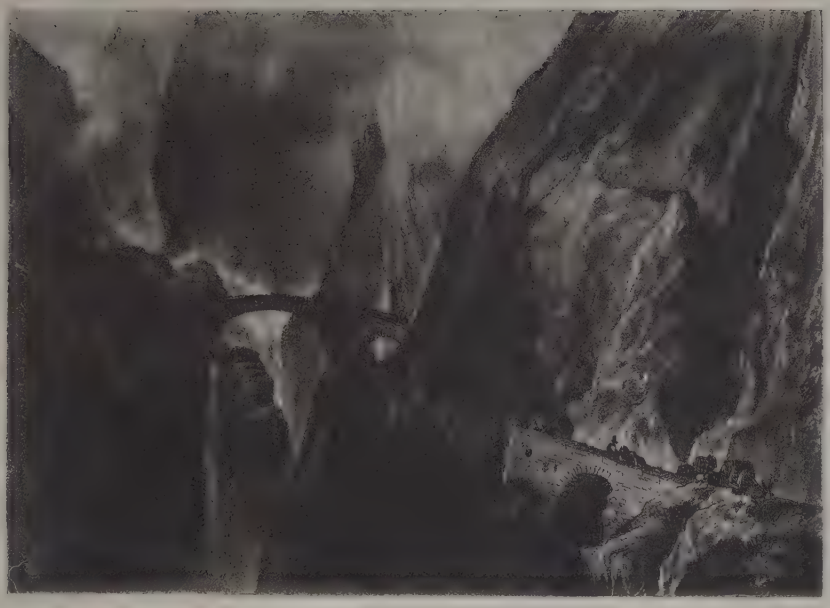
78. VIA MALA

Called also SWISS BRIDGE, *and* DEVIL'S BRIDGE, MONT ST. GOTHARD.

Unpublished.







78. VIA MALA

THE ETCHING IS GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO J. M. W. TURNER, BUT QUERY.
ENGRAVED BY H. DAWE.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{1}{2} \times 10$. Pen and Sepia. Once in the possession of Lord Cathcart. Now in the National Gallery of British Art, No. 3631.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. Eleven in the Turner Sale. *J. Whatman* 1815.
This has generally been attributed to Turner, and Mr. Ruskin ranked it as one of the two finest of the whole series. The reasons for questioning this attribution are given in "The History," in Chapter VII, on "The Etchings."

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

The mezzotint has also been generally attributed to Turner, though it is quite unlike Turner's engraving. That it was by Dawe is proved by the list of "Liber" subjects in "Æsacus and Hesperie" Sketch Book, already referred to. This is one of the subjects, under the name of "Devil Bridge," bracketed together as being engraved by "Daw."
Only three proofs are known.
(*a*) Dark and flat. No high lights on torrent nor on rocks above and below road on right.

Torrent falling over rocks on right near margin. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pocock and Rawlinson.
(*b*) High lights added. Torrent on right obliterated. Nearly completed. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson.
(*c*) Practically completed. Probably same state as (*b*). ALLEN ex Rawlinson, Irvine Smith, and Murray. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

The copper-plate, like those of "Crowhurst" and "Temple of Jupiter," has disappeared. It was not included in the Turner Sale.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Signed "S" on shield in right lower corner of plate, and lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner."
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Signed "S" on shield, and lettered: "VIA MALA. F. Short sculp: after J. M. W. Turner R.A. 1896."
STRANGE, No. 213.

79. PLOUGHING ETON

Unpublished.

79. PLOUGHING ETON

ETCHED, FIRST BY J. M. W. TURNER, AND AFTERWARDS, ON ANOTHER PLATE, BY T. LUPTON. ENGRAVED BY T. LUPTON.

DRAWING

Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXV, p. 47. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
Reverse of Engraving. The building in background (? Lincoln Cathedral) differs from that in the etching.

ETCHING

FIRST PLATE. $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in. Eight windows are shown in side of chapel. Plough-boy holds whip in right hand. Initials, J.M.W.T., on milestone are in capitals, with a cross in circle below them. Only one impression of original state is known; and this is worked on in sepia by Turner as a guide to the engraver. Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, T. It has a note in margin written by Turner: "M[r] Lupton. If you have not the ground on yet, pray give the Plate a good rubbing down with sil . . . [margin cut off] any way would make it better if brighter."
The centre was now scraped, obliterating centre and part of foreground figures, and part of building in background, and was then beaten up from the back.
Two impressions are known of the plate in this condition; one in BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan, the other ALLEN ex Taylor (HERE REPRODUCED).
The copper-plate was then abandoned. It was found in Turner's house after his death, but was not thought worth including in the Sale. It subsequently passed into Mr. Rawlinson's

hands, who had some of the accidental scratches removed, and some impressions printed from the plate (*J. Whatman* 1879).
This plate was never rocked for mezzotinting.

SECOND PLATE. Another plate was then etched by Lupton, with perhaps some additions by Turner. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. Eleven impressions from this plate in the Turner Sale. It differs from the First Plate in the following details: two of the eight windows in side of chapel are now hidden by trees; plough-boy now holds his whip in left hand; initials on milestone, J.M.W.T., are now in italics. *J. Whatman* 1822.
This plate was then mezzotinted, producing the following.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Girl's head uncovered and turned towards horses. No toy in child's hand. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Vaughan. (*b*) Similar impression, but worked on extensively in Sepia and Chinese white by Turner. Girl's head is changed; she now looks to the right. A sun bonnet is placed on her head and a toy windmill in child's hand. BOSTON ex Hawkins (1904). The plate was apparently finished, with the alterations carried out, but there is no record of an impression from the plate in this state which was printed before Turner's death. The plate was found in Turner's house and included in his sale. It was bought-in, but subsequently passed into Mr. Rawlinson's possession. The first impression which Mr. Rawlinson had printed was presented by him to the British Museum (HERE REPRODUCED). It is printed in reddish ink on modern laid paper, and bears the following inscription in pencil: "First Impression taken [Feb. 1880] from the Original Copper plate, which was bought in [at] the Turner Sale in 1873, and afterwards sold to W. G. R. by one of the Exors. [1880]. Proof No. 1."
Afterwards Mr. Rawlinson had "about fifteen" other impressions printed from the plate, but only a few of them were regarded as satisfactory.

COPY

BY T. LUPTON, made after Turner's death on another plate.
ETCHING. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 11\frac{7}{16}$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. This differs from both of earlier versions by having the Chapel in centre raised a full $\frac{3}{8}$ in. This alteration, made apparently on the engraver's own initiative, enables all the six windows of Chapel to be seen. Plough-boy's whip is in his left hand and now reaches above his head.
FIRST STATE. Girl's head turned to right. Before basket, etc., behind her. BRITISH MUSEUM (torn).
SECOND STATE. Girl's head turned to left. Basket, etc., added behind her. BRITISH MUSEUM (2).
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{3}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. Circle with cross in it added under initials on milestone.
One engraver's proof, before margins were cleaned. BRITISH MUSEUM. Another proof. ALLEN ex Taylor.
Ordinary impressions are in circulation. All without any lettering, and on modern plate-paper.

80. PAN AND SYRINX

Unpublished.

80. PAN AND SYRINX

ETCHED PROBABLY BY DAWE.

DRAWING

$8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Taylor, presented by Mr. H. Oppenheimer.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$ in. Only two impressions are known; one is in the BRITISH MUSEUM (HERE REPRODUCED), the other is in the NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY ex Reiss. A third impression, referred to by Mr. Rawlinson, was believed to belong to Mr. Henry Vaughan. He bequeathed it to the British Museum, but after his death it could not be found.

The plate apparently was never mezzotinted. It was not included in the Turner Sale.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. $8\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{15}{16}$; $7\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$. Copied from the drawing. Signed "S" in shield in left lower corner of plate. Lettered: "Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched by Frank Short 1896."

MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11$; $7\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Signed "S" in shield in left lower corner of plate. Lettered: "PAN AND SYRINX. From an Unpublished Drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the British Museum. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched & Engraved by F. Short 1896."

STRANGE, No. 203.

Before this plate was engraved the same engraver etched and mezzotinted another plate of this subject which was never published.

ETCHING. Copy of etching probably by H. Dawe.

FIRST STATE. $6\frac{7}{8} \times 10$. Unsigned.

SECOND STATE. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10$. Lower border line taken out and work added to correspond with drawing. Lettered: "Etching, altered by F. Short 1889." Only known proof in B.M.

MEZZOTINT. Unsigned. Plate was completed and a few proofs taken; but as the etching which had been copied was found not to be by Turner, the plate was destroyed and no proofs were issued.

STRANGE, No. 202.

81. STONEHENGE AT DAYBREAK

Unpublished.

81. STONEHENGE AT DAYBREAK

ENGRAVED IN PURE MEZZOTINT PERHAPS BY J. M. W. TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{9}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{19}{32} \times 10\frac{17}{32}$. Pen and Sepia. In possession of Miss Bullard, of Boston, U.S.A., by whose kindness it is here reproduced.

ETCHING

None.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Three only are known.
(*a*) Earliest. BOSTON ex Stokes, Taylor, and Rawlinson.
(*b*) Darker and stronger. BOSTON ex Lees.
(*c*) Similar. ALLEN ex Irvine Smith and Murray. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate was included in the Turner Sale. It is said to have been bought by "Pearson" for £68 5*s*. Some impressions on India paper were printed for the Executors before the Sale. Many impressions were subsequently printed from the plate on smooth modern paper. These show that the lower part of the plate was rubbed down and re-mezzotinted, the details being merged in an even, subdued tone.

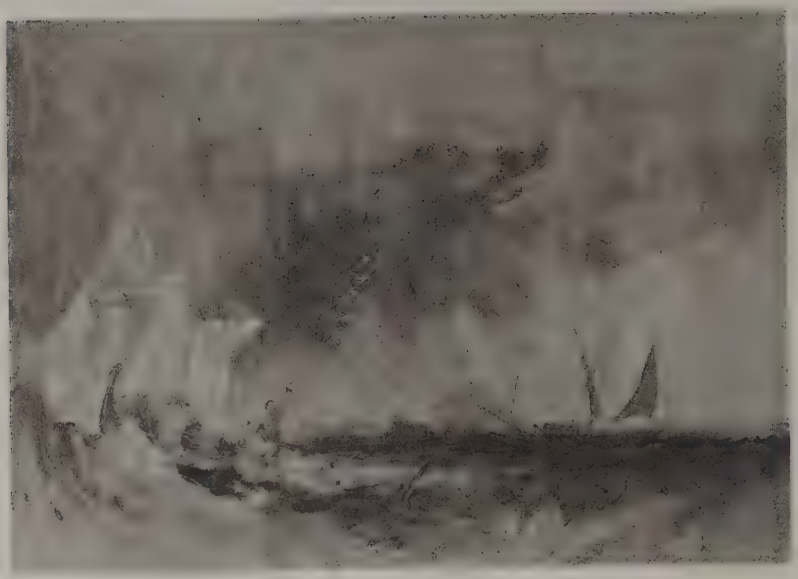
COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{9}{16} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$; $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{16}$. First State. Copy of engraver's proof of original plate. Unsigned and without lettering.
Second State. Carried further to correspond with the drawing. Before lettering.
Third State. Signed "S" within shield, and lettered: "Stonehenge at Daybreak. From an Unpublished Drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of J. E. Taylor Esq. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by F. Short 1897."
STRANGE, No. 210.

82. THE FELUCCA

Unpublished.



82. THE FELUCCA

ENGRAVED PROBABLY BY H. DAWE.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{15}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Pen and Sepia. TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, U.

ETCHING

None. The etched lines were added in the course of the engraving.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Sky dark. Before clouds in upper left and centre were modelled. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Taylor, presented by Mr. Theobald, and BOSTON ex Stokes, Taylor, and Rawlinson.
(*b*) Sky lightened above and on right below, and upper clouds modelled. Rays of light on right extended above dark cloud. ALLEN ex Horne, and BOSTON ex Lees.
(*c*) Mast heightened and placed outside (to left of) sail. Pennant effaced. Lightning continued to right of tower. ALLEN ex Heywood Hawkins, Irvine Smith, and Murray. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
One or two other proofs are supposed to be in private hands. A few impressions, in reddish ink, rather faint, with St. Andrew's Cross added on large flag, were printed before the Turner Sale.

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate appeared in the Turner Sale. According to Victoria and Albert Museum catalogue it was bought by "McLean" for £47 5*s*., apparently for the late Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., who presented it to the Liverpool Art Gallery. Before doing so he is said to have had about twenty impressions printed by Delâtre of Paris. Some were without lettering. Others were lettered in etched lettering; "one of the fust [*sic*] edition of 30 Impressions. Printed by Delâtre London."

83. THE STORK AND AQUEDUCT

Sometimes called THE HERON'S POOL.

Unpublished.

83. THE STORK AND AQUEDUCT

ETCHED BY J. M. W. TURNER. ENGRAVED PROBABLY BY H. DAWE.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{7}{16} \times 9\frac{13}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

None known.

ETCHING

$8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$. None in the Turner Sale. Rare.
FIRST STATE. Foliage on hill above bridge faintly bitten. *J. Whatman* 1822.
SECOND STATE. Re-bitten. Some foul-biting. (HERE REPRODUCED.) *J. Whatman* 1822.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Only four are known.
(*a*) Dark and flat. BOSTON ex Stokes and Buccleuch.
(*b*) Sky lightened and large rock in foreground darkened. BOSTON ex Stokes, Parry, and Rawlinson.
(*c*) Apparently same state as (*b*), BRITISH MUSEUM ex Pocock and Rawlinson (HERE REPRODUCED).
(*d*) Sky, distant slope beyond aqueduct, and large foreground rock lightened. Upper rock on right and foliage darkened. Foreground rocks lightened, and additional etched lines on

distant foliage under and above central arch of aqueduct. BOSTON ex Taylor. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate was sold in the Turner Sale. Buyer's name is given as "Pearson," price £157 10*s*.

A number of impressions were subsequently printed from the plate on smooth modern paper. These impressions show that a large fresh light was added on foreground rock near top of its centre.

After these impressions were taken the plate appears to have been cancelled by a scratch down the centre. The mezzotinting was then removed, the scratch burnished out, and some fairly satisfactory impressions of the etching were printed.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

ETCHING. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{11}{16}$; $7\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{11}{16}$. Signed "S" in shield, and lettered: "Frank Short sculp. after J. M. W. Turner R.A."

MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$; $7\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{11}{16}$. First State. A few impressions were taken when the plate resembled the Engraver's Proof then in the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Taylor; now at Boston, E.P. (*d*) above.

Second State. Signed "S" in shield, and lettered: "The Stork and Aqueduct Drawn & Etched by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Etched & Engraved by F. Short. 1896."

STRANGE, No. 201.

84. THE LOST SAILOR

Called also STORM OVER THE LIZARD.

Unpublished.

84. THE LOST SAILOR

ENGRAVED BY J. M. W. TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark cut*; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{11}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

None is known.

ETCHING

The etched lines appear to have been added in the course of the engraving.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

(*a*) Aquatint ground overlaid with mezzotint. Cliffs at left faintly indicated. Etched outlines on sailor and on cask. Margins not defined. BOSTON ex Lees.
(*b*) Re-worked. Sky and cliffs at left defined, nearer cliff being light against dark background. Sailor re-drawn larger. Cut down. BOSTON ex Parry and Rawlinson. Another impression, same state. BOSTON ex Knowles.
(*c*) Sky darkened. Lighthouse taller. Nearer cliff at left and water below reduced in tone. Many lights added on water. Trough of sea widened. Slant of waves at right made steeper. Headland at right turned into waves and surf. White spray on cliffs in foreground subdued. BOSTON ex Stokes, Ruskin, and Rawlinson. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
(*d*) Largely re-rocked, as a preparation for further work. ALLEN ex Stokes, Stevenson, and Harland Peck. (HERE REPRODUCED).
These five proofs are the only ones known.

The copper-plate has disappeared. It was not in the Turner Sale.

COPIES

BY S. FISHER.

An elaborate, but coarse, etching, and what is said to be a clumsy lithographic transcript of the mezzotint. These were made for Mr. Ruskin when he was at Oxford.

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

MEZZOTINT. $8 \times 10\frac{3}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. First State. A few impressions taken when in the state of an early engraver's proof, formerly in the possession of Mr. Rawlinson (now at Boston, (*b*) above), unsigned and without lettering.
Second State. Plate completed to correspond with the later engraver's proofs (*c*) above, at Boston. Signed "S" on shield, and lettered: "The Lost Sailor F. Short Sculp after J. M. W. Turner R.A. 1896."
STRANGE, No. 214.

85. MOONLIGHT AT SEA

Generally called MOONLIGHT AT SEA. THE NEEDLES.
Unpublished.

85. MOONLIGHT AT SEA

ENGRAVED BY J. M. W. TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$; *borders not defined*, *about* $7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, V. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
According to Sir F. Seymour Haden the rocks represented are at the entrance of Freshwater Bay.

ETCHING

None. The etched lines were added in the course of the mezzotinting.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Only two are known. Both in the BRITISH MUSEUM, Vaughan Bequest. The earlier is here reproduced.

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate in the condition of the second proof was sold at the Turner Sale. It was bought by the late Mr. J. E. Taylor for £6 6*s*., who had a few impressions printed.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
The plate was first aquatinted. Three impressions of the aquatint exist, signed "S" on shield.
MEZZOTINT. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$; $8\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{13}{16}$. Signed "S" on shield and lettered: "Moonlight at Sea off the Isle of Wight. From an Unpublished Drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of Henry Vaughan Esq Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Engraved by F. Short 1896."
STRANGE, No. 209.

86. MOONLIGHT ON THE MEDWAY

Unpublished.

86. MOONLIGHT ON THE MEDWAY

ENGRAVED PROBABLY BY H. DAWE.

SIZE: *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{5}{16} \times 10$ in. Margins trimmed.

DRAWING

$7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. Monochrome wash, chalk, etc. Catalogued as "Moonlight on river," TURNER BEQUEST, CCLXIII, 328. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

ETCHING

None.

ENGRAVER'S PROOFS

Only six are known.
(*a*) Dark and flat. BRITISH MUSEUM ex Stokes and Vaughan, BOSTON.
(*b*) Dark patches in sky above sails subdued. BOSTON ex Bale and Rawlinson.
(*c*) Before light figure added in farther boat. ALLEN (2), one ex Heywood Hawkins and Taylor (HERE REPRODUCED).
(*d*) Light figure added in farther boat and dark figures in nearer boat. Turret added on high building on right. Faint image of moon added on reflection in water. Sails of windmill enlarged. BOSTON ex Heywood Hawkins.

Nothing is known of the copper-plate. It did not appear in the Turner Sale.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
No Etching.
MEZZOTINT. $8\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$; $7\frac{5}{16} \times 9\frac{15}{16}$. Signed "S" on shield in right lower corner of plate. Lettered: "Moonlight on The Medway at Chatham. Drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Engraved by Sir F. Short. R.A. 1920."
Not in STRANGE.

87. KINGSTON BANK

Unpublished.

87. KINGSTON BANK

ENGRAVED BY J. M. W. TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

DRAWING

$7\frac{13}{16} \times 10\frac{9}{16}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, W. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
An oil painting of this subject was exhibited in Turner's Gallery in 1809. It is now in the National Gallery, No. 491, entitled "Harvest Dinner, Kingston Bank."

ETCHING

None.

ENGRAVER'S PROOF

This plate was probably an experiment in engraving by Turner. It is a curious mixture of aquatint and mezzotint. In Sir Frank Short's opinion the plate was aquatinted all over, on top of a faint mezzotint ground. What is probably the first—and only—trial proof is now in the possession of Mr. A. A. Allen ex Stokes, Irvine Smith, and Murray (HERE REPRODUCED). The experiment can hardly have been considered successful, and the plate was abandoned.

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

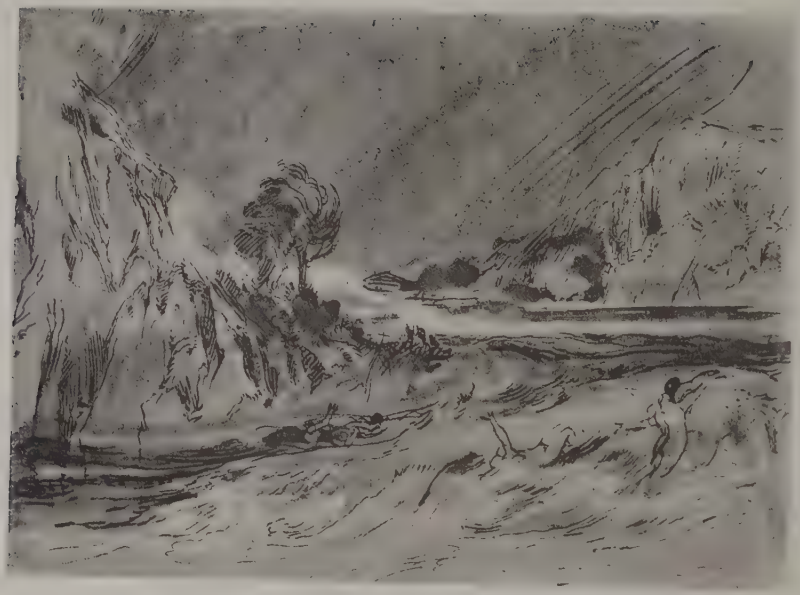
The plate was included in the Turner Sale. It was bought by "Colnaghi" for £15 15*s*. An impression on India paper probably taken by order of the Executors before the sale is now in the VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. A few impressions were subsequently printed from the plate after the sale.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.
ETCHING. $8\frac{5}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{8}$; $7\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$. Signed "S" in shield in left lower corner, and lettered: "Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched by Frank Short 1896."
MEZZOTINT. Signed "S" in shield, and lettered: "Kingston Bank From an Unpublished Drawing for the Liber Studiorum in the possession of Henry Vaughan Esq: Drawn by J. M. W. Turner R.A. Etched & Engraved by F. Short 1896."
STRANGE, No. 205.
An earlier plate of the same subject by the same artist was begun, but not finished nor published. The Etching was in soft-ground and unsigned.
The Mezzotint was carried to a first working state, but was abandoned after a very few proofs had been taken. Also unsigned.
STRANGE, No. 204.

88. THE DELUGE

Unpublished.



88. THE DELUGE

ENGRAVED PERHAPS BY TURNER, PERHAPS BY DAWE.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{13}{16} \times 11\frac{13}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 10\frac{15}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

$8\frac{1}{16} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$. Pen and Sepia. National Gallery, Vaughan Bequest. Catalogued with TURNER BEQUEST, CXVIII, X. (HERE REPRODUCED.)
An oil painting with this title was exhibited by Turner at the R.A. in 1813, No. 213. It is now in the National Gallery, No. 493. It differs considerably from the present design.

ETCHING

None.

ENGRAVER'S PROOF

Only one is known, that now at BOSTON ex Parry and Rawlinson. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate was included in the Turner Sale. It was bought by "Colnaghi" for £50 8*s*. An impression on India paper printed probably by order of the Executors before

the sale is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Many impressions were subsequently taken from the plate on smooth modern paper, some in brown and others in black ink. These vary in quality. A satisfactory one is in the British Museum, and Mr. A. A. Allen has another. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

89. FLOUNDER FISHING, BATTERSEA

Unpublished.

89. FLOUNDER FISHING, BATTERSEA

ENGRAVED PROBABLY BY J. M. W. TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{7}{16} \times 11\frac{9}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, 7×10 in.

DRAWING

None is known.

The design was adapted from a water-colour which Turner had exhibited at the R.A. in 1811, under the title: "November; Flounder-Fishing." It was bought by Mr. Walter Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, where it still remains. It is here reproduced by the kindness of its present owner, Major F. H. Fawkes.

ETCHING

None. The etched lines in the plate were introduced after the engraving had been begun.

ENGRAVER'S PROOF

Only one is known, that now in the BRITISH MUSEUM (Vaughan Bequest). (HERE REPRODUCED as the Third Plate.)

The impression claimed as an Engraver's Proof in the Boston catalogue, ex Pocock, was printed just before the Turner Sale by Sir Seymour Haden. (HERE REPRODUCED as the Second Plate.)

MODERN IMPRESSIONS

The copper-plate, which shows a curious mixture of aquatint and mezzotint, was included

in the Turner Sale. It was purchased by "Heugh" for £8 8*s*. An impression on India paper, probably printed by order of the Executors before the sale, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A number of impressions on smooth modern paper were subsequently taken. Some of these, the earlier, show the margins still uncleaned; the later, with margins cleaned, show additional work by some unknown hand. The bridge in background is darkened and defined; buildings and ships are added on the right, and the lights on sails, figures, and ripples are brightened.

One late impression I have seen bears the water-mark, *S* & *S*. 1824. The copper-plate was presented to the National Gallery in 1910 by Mr. William White.

90. NARCISSUS AND ECHO

Unpublished.

90. NARCISSUS AND ECHO

ETCHED IN SOFT-GROUND BY J. M. W. TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 12$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{5}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

None is known.

The oil-painting of this subject was exhibited by Turner at the R.A. in 1804, No. 207, and at the British Institution in 1806, No. 22. It was bought by Lord Egremont, and is now at Petworth, in the possession of Lord Leconfield.

ETCHING

Entirely in soft-ground. Only three proofs are known. One is in the BRITISH MUSEUM ex Stokes and Vaughan (HERE REPRODUCED), the other two being at BOSTON, both ex Taylor. Both are touched.

One of the proofs at Boston has the foliage at upper right touched with Chinese white, and the paper scraped for lights on figures, hills, in sky and foreground. On the back is written in pencil: "This Etching—done by Turner himself—was by him given to me—at Petworth. It is from his own picture in the Gallery there—of Narcissus and Echo—(sgd.) Elizth Phillips."

Nothing is known of the copper-plate, which so far as we know was carried no farther than the etching.

COPY

BY SIR FRANK SHORT, R.A.

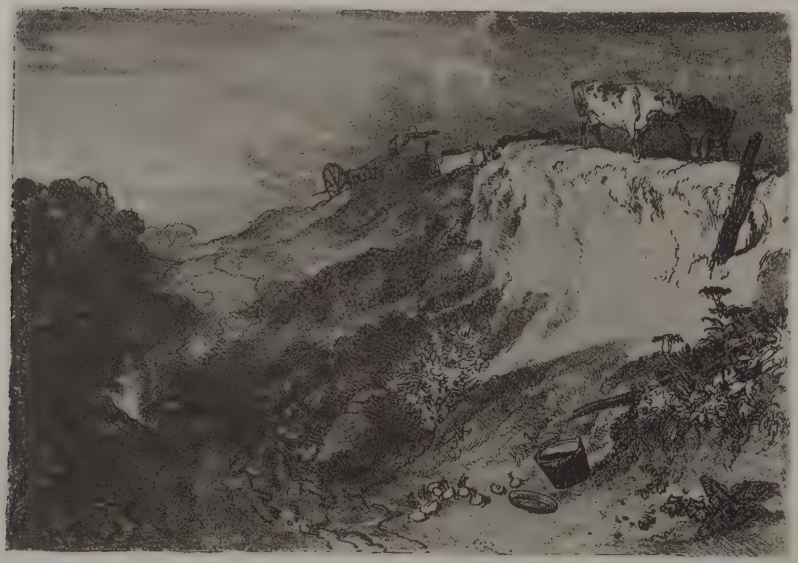
ETCHING. $7\frac{13}{16} \times 11$; $6\frac{15}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$. In soft-ground. Signed "S" on shield, and lettered: "Narcissus and Echo. Drawn and etched by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Etched by F. Short, 1896."

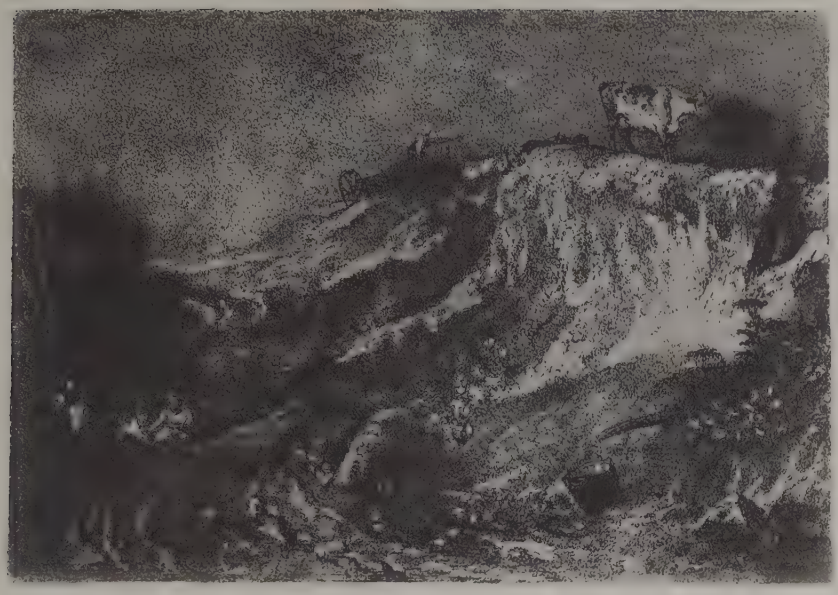
The plate was not mezzotinted.

STRANGE, No. 196.

91. SAND BANK WITH GIPSIES

Unpublished.





91. SAND BANK WITH GIPSIES

ETCHED IN SOFT-GROUND BY J. M. W. TURNER.

SIZE: *Plate Mark*, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{5}{16}$; *Engraved Surface*, $7\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{16}$ in.

DRAWING

None.

The oil-painting of this subject was exhibited by Turner in his gallery in 1809, under the title: "Sketch of a bank with Gipsies."

It is now in the National Gallery, No. 467. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

ETCHING

In soft-ground. Only three impressions are known. Two in the BRITISH MUSEUM, one ex Stokes and Vaughan, the other ex Stokes and Taylor, and one at BOSTON ex Taylor.

The earlier impression in the British Museum has the margins cut, the engraved surface measures $7 \times 10\frac{1}{8}$. It was bequeathed by Mr. Henry Vaughan. (HERE REPRODUCED.)

The impression at Boston appears to be in the same state.

The later impression in the British Museum comes from the Stokes collection. Measurements are given above. It shows additional work in soft-ground and, perhaps, some aquatint. (HERE REPRODUCED as the Third Plate.)

Nothing is known of the copper-plate, which presumably was not carried beyond this state.

End of Catalogue of Published and Unpublished Plates

NUMERICAL INDEX OF THE PLATES OF TURNER'S "LIBER STUDIORUM"—PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED

PUBLISHED PLATES

NO.	NAME OF PLATE	CLASSIFICATION	ENGRAVER	PAGE
1.	Frontispiece (*Published in Part X*).		*J. M. W. Turner and J. C. Easling.*	1
	PART I. *Published* 11 *June*, 1807.			
2.	The Bridge and Cows.	P.	*C. Turner.*	5
3.	The Woman and Tambourine.	E.P.	*C. Turner.*	9
4.	Scene on the French Coast.	Ma.	*C. Turner.*	13
5.	Basle.	A.	*C. Turner.*	17
6.	Jason.	H.	*C. Turner.*	21
	PART II. *Published* 20 *February*, 1808.			
7.	The Straw Yard.	P.	*C. Turner.*	25
8.	The Castle above the Meadows.	E.P.	*C. Turner.*	29
9.	Mont St. Gothard.	Ms.	*C. Turner.*	33
10.	Ships in a Breeze.	Ma.	*C. Turner.*	37
11.	Holy Island Cathedral.	A.	*C. Turner.*	41
	PART III. *Published* 10 *June*, 1808.			
12.	Pembury Mill.	P.	*C. Turner.*	45
13.	The Bridge in Middle Distance.	E.P.	*C. Turner.*	49
14.	Dunstanborough Castle.	A.	*C. Turner.*	53
15.	Lake of Thun.	Ms.	*C. Turner.*	57
16.	Fifth Plague of Egypt.	H.	*C. Turner.*	61
	PART IV. *Published* 29 *March*, 1809.			
17.	The Farmyard with the Cock.	P.	*C. Turner.*	65
18.	The Fall of the Clyde.	E.P.	*C. Turner.*	69
19.	Little Devil's Bridge.	Ms.	*C. Turner.*	73
20.	The Leader Sea Piece.	Ma.	*C. Turner.*	77
21.	Morpeth.	A.	*C. Turner.*	81
	PART V. *Published* 1 *January*, 1811.			
22.	Juvenile Tricks.	P.	*W. Say.*	85
23.	Temple of Minerva Medica.	E.P.	*R. Dunkarton.*	89
24.	Coast of Yorkshire.	Ma.	*W. Say.*	93
25.	Hind Head Hill.	Ms.	*R. Dunkarton.*	97
26.	London from Greenwich.	A.	*C. Turner.*	101

NO.	NAME OF PLATE	CLASSIFICATION	ENGRAVER	PAGE
PART VI. *Published* 1 *June*, 1811.				
27.	Windmill and Lock.	P.	*W. Say.*	105
28.	Junction of Severn and Wye.	E.P.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	109
29.	Marine Dabblers.	Ma.	*W. Say.*	113
30.	Near Blair Athol.	Ms.	*W. Say.*	117
31.	Lauffenbourgh on the Rhine.	A.	*T. Hodgetts.*	121
PART VII. *Published* 1 *June*, 1811.				
32.	Young Anglers.	P.	*R. Dunkarton.*	125
33.	St. Catherine's Hill near Guildford.	E.P.	*J. C. Easling.*	129
34.	Martello Towers near Bexhill.	Ma.	*W. Say.*	133
35.	Inverary Pier.	Ms.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	137
36.	From Spenser's Fairy Queen.	H.	*T. Hodgetts.*	141
PART VIII. *Published* 1 *February*, 1812.				
37.	Water Mill.	P.	*R. Dunkarton.*	145
38.	Scene in the Campagna.	E.P.	*W. Say.*	149
39.	Crypt of Kirkstall Abbey	A.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	153
40.	The Mildmay Sea Piece.	Ma.	*W. Annis and J. C. Easling.*	157
41.	Procris and Cephalus.	H.	*G. Clint.*	161
PART IX. *Published* 23 *April*, 1812.				
42.	Winchelsea.	P.	*J. C. Easling.*	165
43.	The Bridge and Goats.	E.P.	*F. C. Lewis.*	169
44.	Calm.	Ma.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	173
45.	Peat Bog.	Ms.	*G. Clint.*	177
46.	Rispah.	H.	*R. Dunkarton.*	181
PART X. *Published* 23 *May*, 1812.				
	Frontispiece. (No. 1 above.)			1
47.	Hedging and Ditching.	P.	*J. C. Easling.*	185
48.	River Wye.	E.P.	*W. Annis.*	189
49.	Chain of Alps from Grenoble to Chamberi.	Ms.	*W. Say.*	193
50.	Mer de Glace.	Ms.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	197
51.	Rivaux Abbey.	A.	*H. Dawe.*	201
PART XI. *Published* 1 *January*, 1816.				
52.	Solway Moss.	P.	*T. Lupton.*	205
53.	Solitude.	E.P.	*W. Say.*	209
54.	Mill near the Grand Chartreuse.	Ms.	*H. Dawe.*	213
55.	Entrance of Calais Harbour.	Ma.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	217
56.	Dumblain Abbey.	A.	*T. Lupton.*	221

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57.	Norham Castle.	P.	*C. Turner.*	225
58.	Berry Pomeroy Castle.	E.P.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	229
59.	Ville de Thun.	A.	*T. Hodgetts.*	233
60.	Source of the Arveron.	Ms.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	237
61.	Tenth Plague of Egypt.	H.	*W. Say.*	241
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62.	Watercress Gatherers.	P.	*T. Lupton.*	245
63.	Isleworth.	E.P.	*H. Dawe.*	249
64.	Bonneville.	Ms.	*H. Dawe.*	253
65.	Inverary Castle and Town.	Ms.	*C. Turner.*	257
66.	Æsacus and Hesperie.	H.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	261
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70.	Interior of a Church.	A.	*J. M. W. Turner.*	277
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78.	Via Mala.	*H. Dawe.*	311
79.	Ploughing, Eton.	*T. Lupton.*	315
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